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800 PER CENT AND THE AKRON STRIKE

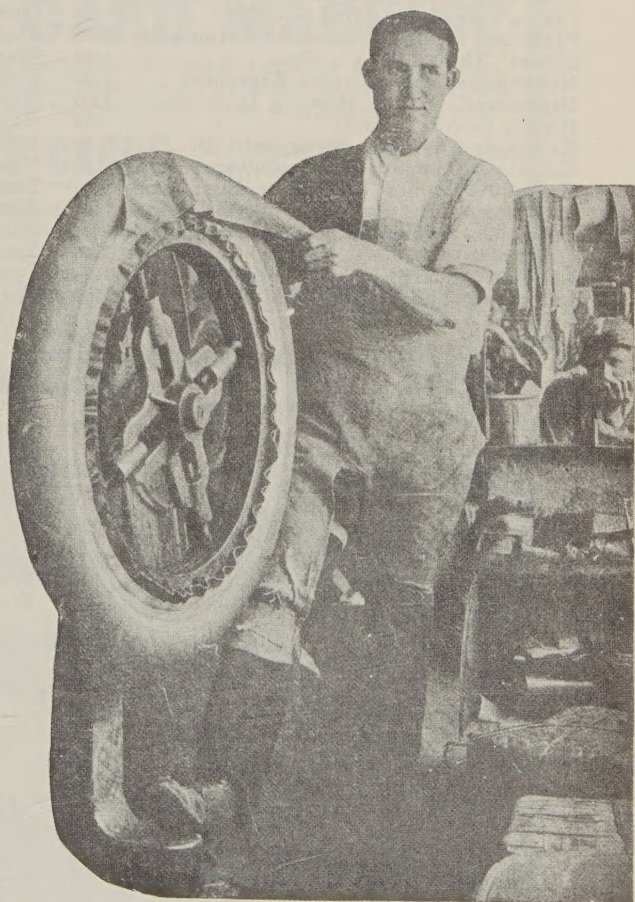
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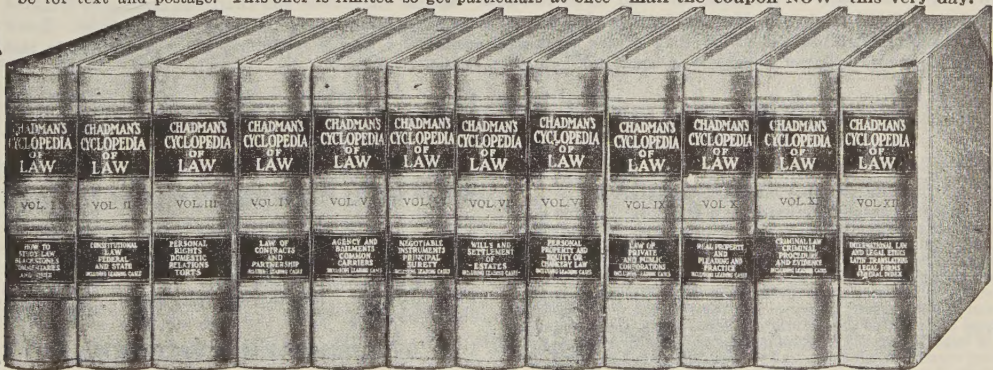
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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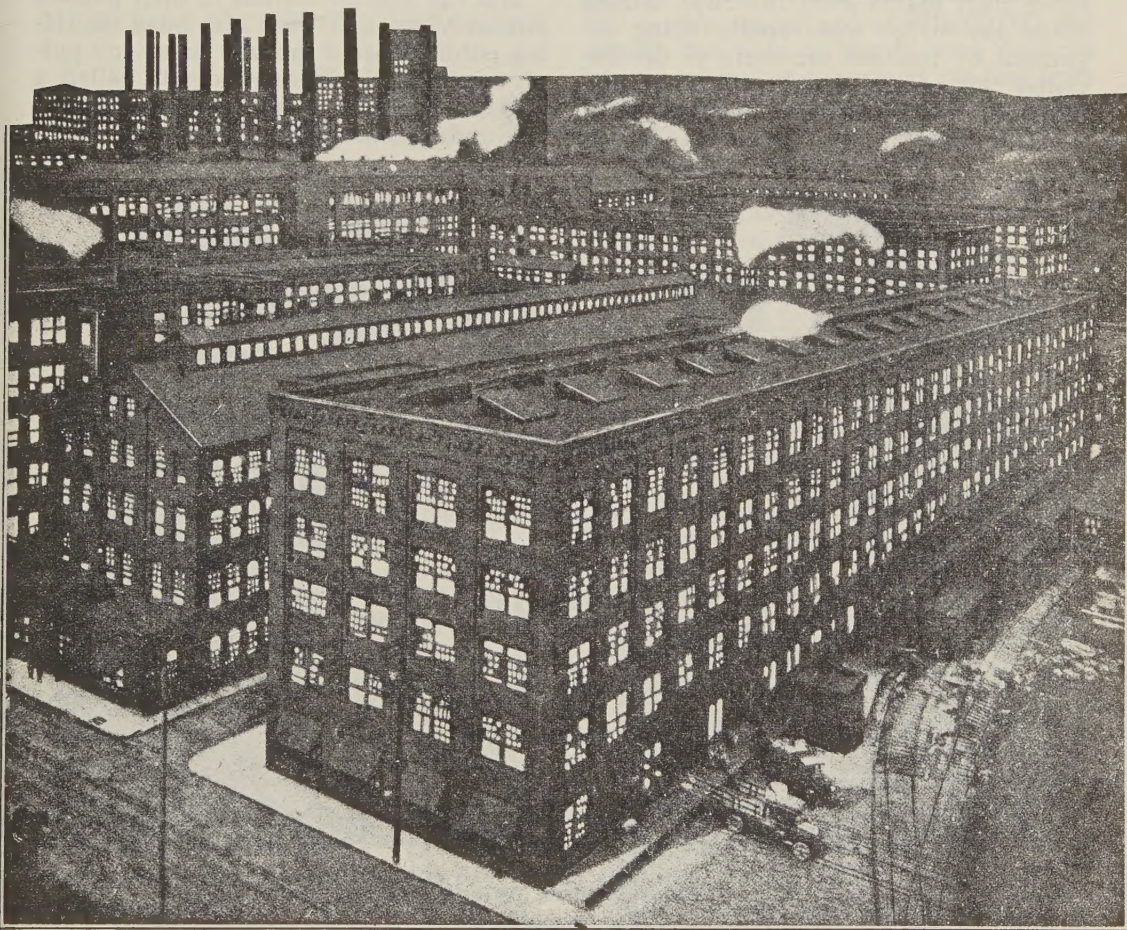
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Vol. XIII
No. 10

The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW

April
1913



A 15-000 MAN-POWER PLANT WHERE WORKING PEOPLE MAKE RUBBER GOODS AND RUBBER BARONS DECLARE ENORMOUS DIVIDENDS.

800 Per Cent and the Akron Strike

By Leslie H. Marcy

THE Rubber Aristocrats are having "tire trouble" in Akron, Ohio. Their mammoth 75-acre, 25,000-man-power, profit-making machines ---known as the Goodrich-Diamond, Goodyear, Firestone and Buckeye rubber factories, have been badly punctured by a strike of 20,000 wage slaves.

The workers who have slaved for years laid down the bosses' tools, rolled up their greasy working rags and walked out unorganized, on February 10, as a protest against tyrannical working conditions and repeated cuts in wages.

They are standing shoulder to shoulder in their first strike and their arms are

folded. Their is no fire under the boilers; nor smoke issuing from the hundreds of industrial spires; the belts are on loose pulleys and even the wheels refuse to run.

The Rubber Barons refused to arbitrate with the state officials and threatened to move their plants from the city. Meanwhile the strike was rapidly being organized by militant members of the Socialist party working with the Industrial Workers of the World. The Socialist headquarters became the home of the

work of taking care of those who were in need. Here was a hive that hummed twenty hours out of the twenty-four. Of course the Capitalist hirelings suddenly discovered that this was "an Agitators' meeting place," and made dire threats.

But the Rubber Barons in their palaces out on West Hill were also busy moulding public opinion through press and pulpit against this "foreign devil" called a strike. Were not collections dwindling on Sundays and business becoming "bad"



GENERAL MANAGER SHAW ANNOUNCED THAT IF THE FACTORY CLOSED DOWN ON ACCOUNT OF STRIKE IT WOULD BE REMOVED FROM AKRON.

strike committees while larger halls were secured for mass meetings, where thousands of workers hear the message of Revolutionary Socialism and Industrial Unionism. Comrades Frank Midney, "Red" Bessemer, George Spangler and fellow-workers George Speed, William Trautman, Jack Whyte and several more "live ones" are on the job speaking daily, organizing committees and strengthening the picket lines.

The home of Comrade Frank and Margaret Prevey was thrown open to the strikers and became a busy center of strike activity—sending out appeals for support, press notices and planning the

during the week, and is not idleness the devil's workshop?

Thereupon a great cry arose from the Citizens' Welfare League and the Akron Times, warning the honest, respectable, patriotic law-abiding American citizens against the strike as "an attack on the prosperity of our city," and announcing that "the powers that be are ordained of God." This league was organized by Rev. Atwater and the Rubber Heads have donated him an automobile for his services in organizing slugging crews.

As city, county and state governments are but committees to do the bosses' bidding, so likewise the pulpit, press and bar

are proving themselves ready to prostitute themselves for a few crumbs from the rich man's table. The following item from the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* shows how eager are these lickspittles to do their master's bidding:

SWEAR IN CITIZENS TO PROTECT AKRON.

Police Officials Arm Ministers, Lawyers and Business Men of City.

"Following the issuing of a proclamation by Sheriff David Fergusson today prohibiting parades and crowds congregating on the streets, 700 prominent Akron citizens, including merchants, lawyers and physicians, presented themselves at police headquarters and asked to be sworn in as special policemen.

"All were accommodated and with police badges and heavy police night sticks were assigned to duty this afternoon. Among the men made special police were: M. O'Neil, proprietor of the May Co. department store; Francis Seiberling, J. H. Adams and W. E. Smoyer, lawyers; Rev. George P. Atwater; W. C. Hall, insurance agent; W. B. Baldwin, postmaster; Dr. D. H. Morgan; George Bates, banker; George W. Cornuchael, contractor.

"For hours they were sworn in as fast as Mayor Rockwell could repeat the oath. Clubs and ax-handles were distributed among them and each man was given a yellow ribbon, designating his authority."

The entire Young Men's Christian Association was sworn in as deputies.

Tuesday evening March 13th, a squad of these thugs clubbed a group of girl strikers, as they were going up the stairs into the Socialist headquarters. On Friday, March 14th, Comrade Haywood was met at the depot by the Citizens' Committee and the chief of police started to recite his little piece about no revolutionary speeches, etc., etc. But Comrade Haywood rudely interrupted with the query: "Have you a warrant to serve?" Upon the chief's replying that he had none Comrade Haywood said, "Please step aside," and passed through the crowd to the waiting strikers, who cheered him lustily. Thus the class lines have been drawn and the struggle is on in Akron.

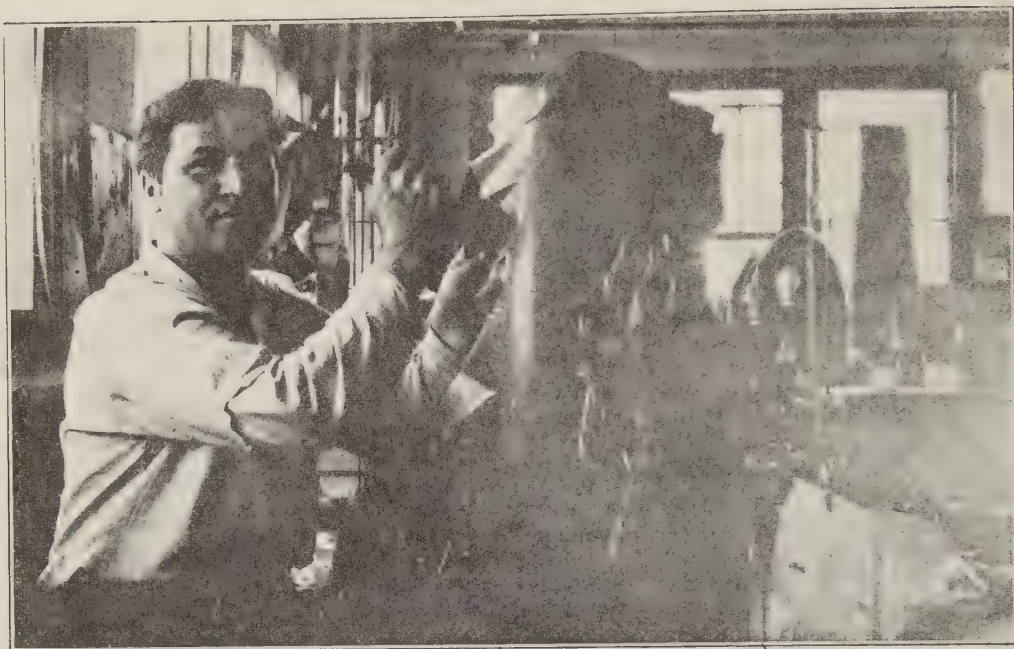
Fifteen years ago the rubber industry

was in its infancy, but during 1912 the wage workers of Akron, in the factories, produced commodities valued at \$99,462,944 and the valuation placed on Akron plants, which were also built by the workers was placed at \$46,966,509. One company which started with a capital of \$100,000 is now capitalized at \$10,000,000 and during last year dividends were declared by several rubber companies ranging from seven to eight hundred per cent. And one company paid 100 per cent dividend for the month of August, 1912.

But gradually competition became keener and the Rubber Barons began to install labor-saving machinery. A stock-cutting machine now does the work of ten men. Four years ago a beading machine was invented which completely wiped out hundreds of hand bead workers. Four men operating a machine could produce as much as a whole corps of trained hand workers. Before the advent of the tire building machine a hand tire builder turned out ten three-inch tires in ten hours, receiving 35 cents per tire on piece work. Now the tire building machine pro-



PULLING ON A PLY.



PUTTING ON THE LAST PLY.

duces 112 three-inch tires all trimmed and ready for the finishers in ten hours. In the Diamond factory alone the force of tire builders was cut down from 510 to 112. The coming of these machines has cut the force 75 per cent.

The machine process has cut the cost of manufacture in two and tire builders who formerly averaged \$4.20 per day now make \$2.70. But the Rubber Barons were not satisfied, so the Taylor Speeding-Up System of Exploitation was installed, which means that the company's "stools" were sent around with stop-watches in the various departments and the fastest workers were timed. Then the piece scale was set according to what the pacemaker could turn out.

As the Rubber Barons grew in wealth they became more arrogant to their employees. Fines were levied for the most trivial mistakes. Mike Flynn, superintendent of the tire department of the Diamond plant "fired" fifty men because someone threw a small piece of rubber out of a window. Such is the way the free American rubber workers have been treated in Akron for years, and they have at last revolted.

Under the old hand-method of making tires, the cutting of "stock" or fabric was

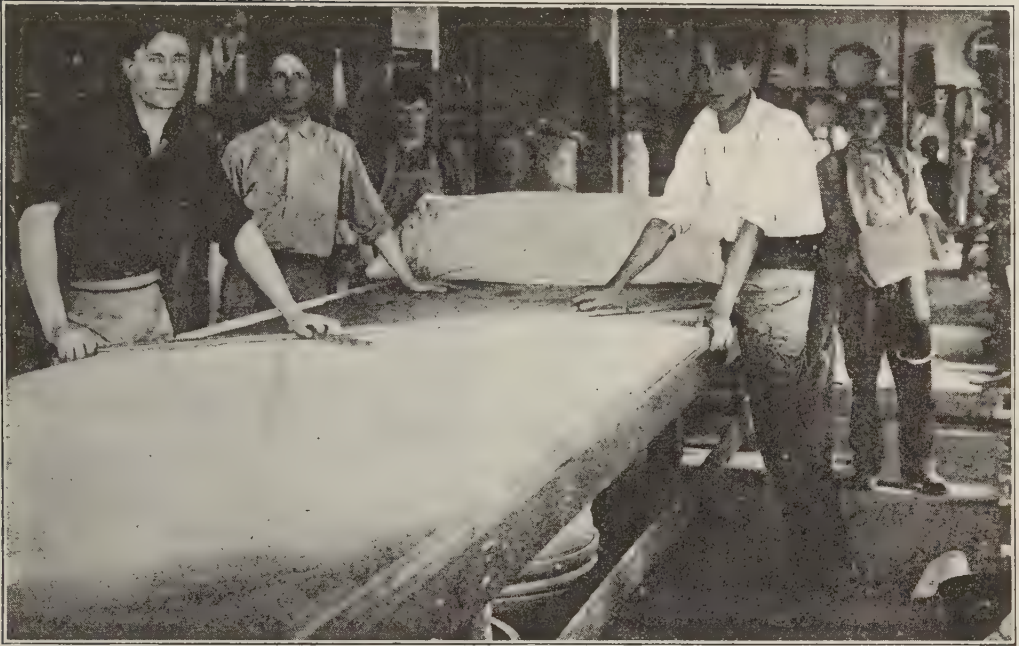
all done by hand. The tread-builders also worked by hand, rolling and pressing the duck fabric for the tire builders. In the builders' room, an iron core, weighing from 100 to 500 lbs., the exact size of the cavity, was covered with glue, or cement, and a light fabric pulled over it. The core then went to the tire builders.

Starting the fabric which was held by "sewing-in" with a rotary wheel, the builder stitches his stock $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to every foot. Stock is sometimes cut so close that the operator has often to release and restretch the fabric many times before the ends meet.

One of these photographs shows the builder putting on the third ply with edges trimmed. The last ply is carefully worked over the beads and "sewed in" ready for the gumming pits.

After the final cut the tire is sent to a calendar room to receive a coat of composition.

One of the strikers informs us that very recently the Speeding-Up System has forced the tire builders to produce 2,000 more than the regular output of tires in a single night. The same man reported that while it formerly took three hours to "cure" a tire, the time had been cut to 55 minutes in one plant. And that the "cur-



STOCK CUTTERS—NOW DONE BY MACHINES.

ing process" depends altogether upon the quantity of rubber used in the compound.

Five hundred to six hundred pounds of compound are made up at a time. In the good old days **THREE POUNDS** of

actual pure rubber was used in a batch; much less is used now. A gum plant is one of the ingredients, also old rope, rags, alkali and shoddy (old rubber, such as worn-out tubing, worn-out rubbers, etc.).



TREAD BUILDING—NOW DONE BY MACHINES.

Although the price of pure rubber is lower than it was a few years ago, the rubber companies have cut down the quantity used steadily. Formerly tire curers earned \$5.00 for curing five tires. They are now forced to cure 50 tires for the same sum. And there is NO LET UP IN THE SPEEDING UP SYSTEM. And the pay per worker goes steadily down.

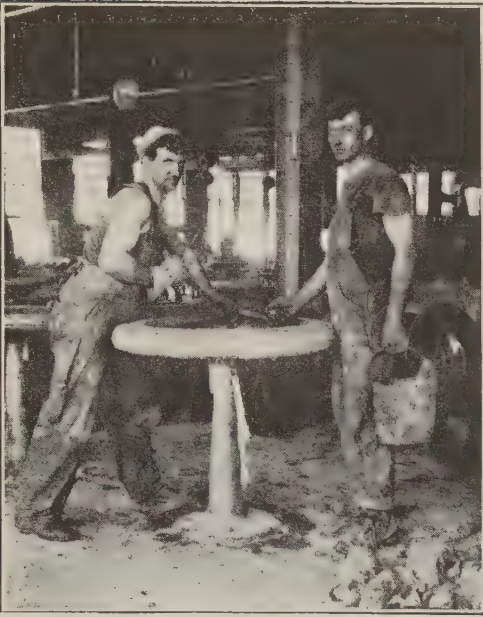
The same is true of the girls in the hot-water bag and rubber goods departments. Everything is piece work. The companies offer premiums for the girl (or man) who produces the most bags, tires, or whatever it may be, and when the utmost limit has been reached, the maximum number becomes the basis for piece work pay. An old experienced operator may be able to glue together 40 hot-water bags in a ten-hour day, working at top speed for a cash

premium. But she cannot possibly keep up this pace. But the day's wage, for such work is based upon this record pace. Girls are compelled to get to work at 7:00 a. m. in order to cement hot-water bags and then are compelled to wait for hours at a time for them to be pressed and trimmed. The girls are paid 5½ cents for making a \$2.00 hot-water bag.

The girls making rubber shoes (rubbers) have been paid only 15 cents per 100 pair of tops. For every rubber that was imperfectly trimmed they were docked 5 cents. Three slips would force them to make 100 pairs of tops for nothing, while the companies sold the imperfect pairs at a good profit. We saw many time checks showing that girls had received as low as 45 cents a day. The reports of the rubber companies of their salary or wages lists are very misleading because they include



510 HAND TIRE BUILDERS PACKED IN ONE ROOM. LOWER WINDOW SASHES NAILED DOWN. LAVATORIES NOT FLUSHED FOR HOURS. AIR ROTTEN. MEN OFTEN COMPELLED TO WAIT FROM TWO TO SIX HOURS FOR A TIRE WITH NO PAY FOR LOST TIME AND HAD TO STAY AT THEIR STANDS.



TIRE PRACTICALLY FINISHED—BY HAND.

the high-salaried officials who refuse to make known how much money they draw.

Many of the workers work in a poisonous compound wearing rubber gloves. Whenever a glove "springs a leak" they are burned to the bone. A "nurse" treats these burns and the worker returns to the job.

The following letter from one of the strikers printed by the *Akron Press*, is a telling picture of life in the factories:

I am a worker in the Goodrich "pit" and the reason I do not go before the probe committee is because I feel like a great many others that I would become too prominent.

I feel that what Mr. Pollock has told the probe committee is merely a circumstance to what we have to suffer in the Goodrich "pit." We work thirteen hours on the night shift and eleven hours on the day shift, with no noon hour to rest and eat.

We are allowed to eat any time between 10 a. m. and 2 p. m. if the work permits. If the work comes out so that we are not able to eat our lunch during those hours, we are not permitted to finish the meal at any time during the rest of the day. If we are caught eating we are liable to be discharged, even though we may be idle at

the time. We would not be eating on the company's time for we work piece work.

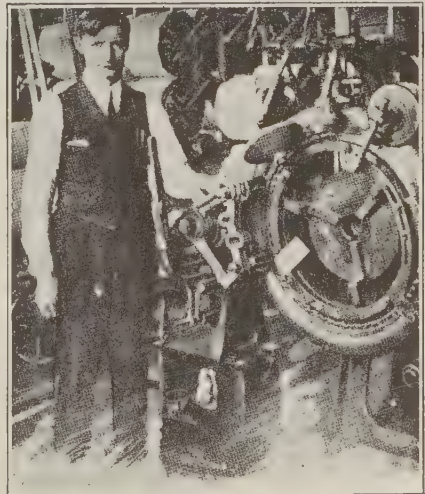
The cores upon which the tires are built are solid iron and a great many are so heavy they are all one man can lift. The cores are so hot that the men are compelled to wear two pairs of canvas gloves, one over the other in order to handle them at all.

Some men have been there two years; some have to be changed because they are worn out in eight months. Some come down, look at the men and say, "I don't want that job" and leave.

During the night shift when the men get a few minutes to sit down, you will see their heads nod and they will fall asleep, utterly exhausted and unable to keep awake. I have seen men stand at their tables dazed for the want of sleep.

I have seen these men walk over to the water cooler and hold their head under the faucet and let water run on their heads so as to revive them and I was one of them. One night I saw a "stripper" walk over to the night foreman and asked to be "fired." The foreman told the man that he knew just how he felt, and advised him to go back and try and stick it out until morning.

In conclusion I wish to say that thirteen hours is too long for that kind of work, or any kind of work, for that matter. We are too tired to even get out of bed at all during the day; it wears a man down; he has very little time to



MACHINE TIRE BUILDER.

spend with his family and his life is a cheerless, endless struggle.

A WORKER.

It is hardly necessary to inform the readers of the REVIEW that the piratical rubber kings have always vigorously opposed any organization of the workers.

Eight years ago the American Federation of Labor organized 500 men. Shortly after, the union headquarters were broken into one night and the books, containing the names of the union men, secured. Mysterious as it may sound, the fact re-

strike and the I. W. W. boys were on the job, eight organizers were rushed into Akron. They promised the strikers a \$30,000 weekly strike benefit if they would join the A. F. of L. But being stung once was enough in Akron, and the strikers have stuck to the I. W. W. The Akron Central Labor Council of the A. F. of L. has backed up the strikers and the I. W. W. from the beginning. They are out to help their brothers and sisters WIN no matter what organization they are in.



"ON THE JOB" PICKETING.

mains that EVERY SINGLE MAN who had joined the union lost his job.

Another unpleasant story is told of an A. F. of L. organizer who went to Akron three years ago, organized 1,500 men, whom he registered in his little book by numbers instead of names. This, he assured them, would prevent the companies from knowing who was who. He collected \$1,500, and went away and that was the last of Mr. Organizer and the \$1,500.

But the Akron rubber workers have learned much by experience. As soon as the A. F. of L. learned that there was a

The real cause of the strike probably originated in the \$2,000,000 contract submitted by the Ford Automobile Co. to the tire manufacturers of Akron. We believe the Goodyear, the Buckeye, the Firestone and Goodrich-Diamond Companies all bid for the big job. Soon there arose a violent cutting of wages. Strikers say the Firestone Company declared a 35 per cent cut. The grade of tires was considerably reduced according to strikers, also.

The first walk-out occurred in the Firestone plant which had secured a part of the Melon contract. Soon there were 18,000 men and women out. As tire con-

tracts are not made subject to labor difficulties, it is probable that unless the Akron companies speedily yield to the demands of the strikers the Ford contract will go elsewhere.

The following story printed by the *Akron Press*, a paper which has tried to give the strikers' side some showing in this bitter struggle, is the general answer of the women and girls who joined the strike:

"Annie Fejtko, eighteen, joined the Akron rubber strikers Friday. She's all

or \$9. I can't save anything and I haven't seen papa or mamma or the little brothers and sisters since I came here.

"They only live in Pennsylvania, too, but I can't save enough to go and see them."

The last day Annie worked she made 75 cents. Lots of days she said she made less.

"Some days I can make \$1.25 and once in a while \$1.50, but that's only when I work on certain kinds of work, and just as fast as I can all day, without resting."

The highest Annie has ever been paid for a day's work, was \$2. She never made



EVERYBODY ON THE PICKET LINE!—3,000 STRONG. THE CAPITALIST IS THE ONLY "FOREIGNER."

alone in Akron—her own provider, housekeeper, washerwoman—and a mère child.

This is Annie Fejtko's own summary of what she pays and how she spends it: Average weekly pay, \$4 to \$4.50.

Weekly board bill, \$3.

Left for dress, amusements, etc., \$1 to \$1.50.

She came to Akron about a year ago and has been working for the B. F. Goodrich Company ever since. She started to work on 10-hour day work, for \$1, a day.

"I only worked that way three weeks," said Annie. "Then they put me on piece work. My average two weeks' pay is \$8

that much again, she says. That day she was cutting paper rings to hold the rubber bulbs in packing. When Annie went home that night her hands were blistered from the scissors.

For some time before the strike Annie had been working in what is known as department 17-B, of the Goodrich. This is the rubber bulb branch. Her work is constantly changed, but for the most of the time she has been inspecting the hard rubber stems for the bulbs, she said. She is paid 9 mills a hundred for this work and makes around \$1 when kept doing this all day.

But there's stamping of time cards to be done, and the work is passed around. "Two mills a hundred is paid for this work," says Annie, "and if you don't work all day you couldn't make over 25 cents."

"In some of the departments the girls make more," Annie states. "The buffers (a line of rubber bulb work), make as high as \$2 a day when they get to work all the time, but lots of times there isn't enough to keep them busy. Sometimes they are sent home and other times they stay around all day expecting more to do and only get about 25 cents worth of work."

"But I can't make that much," the girl says. "I suppose I'm not fast enough or something. But I work hard, ten hours every day and I have to do my own washing in the evenings, and skimp awful."

When the strike started Annie didn't quit. It ran from Tuesday until Friday. She wanted more money for her work, but she didn't have anything saved and thought she couldn't afford to lose a day.

"Friday Charlie, one of the pickets talked to me at noon. I decided I couldn't be much worse off so I laid down my tools and

four other girls in that department followed me out," she explained.

"I haven't any money and I have to pay board and—" she looked seriously out of the window, "but I suppose they'll help me."

"If I don't get any more, though, when I go back, I don't see how I can ever catch up out at Santo's where I board."

The general demands of the strikers may be briefly summarized as follows:

Universal 8-hour day.

Abolition of piece work.

Abolition of Taylor speeding-up system.

Time and one-half for overtime.

A general 25 per cent increase to the lowest and a 20 per cent increase to the highest paid workers.

One feature of the strike that was unexpected by the factory owners was the senatorial probe instigated by Comrade Margaret Prevey, and introduced in the state senate by Senator Wm. Green.

Comrade Allan Cooke ably represented the strikers in this probe. His questions gave proof to the public that the factory owners had put through some very mysterious deals in the way of what looks extremely like DROWNED (instead of "watered") stock; also that unheard-of dividends had been declared even upon these inflated issues. He also brought out the real conditions of the rubber workers.

The following is the report of one of the strikers showing that the harder he worked to keep his earnings up to the old schedule, the lower his wages seemed to go under the speeding-up process.

"Last summer Leonard Gowin, forty-seven, father of 13 children and a stuffer of hard tires in the Diamond plant of the ninety-million-dollar B. F. Goodrich Company, was earning about \$4 a day.

Through the winter, when there have been added coal bills, heavy clothes, school books and other things to buy, he has been paid only about \$2.50 a day and sometimes as low as \$2, he says.

Gowin is a typical victim of the speeding-up, piece-work system which has led directly to the present rubber strike.

It isn't because Gowin works shorter hours. It's been a 10-hour day-ever since he started. "I've worked lots harder this winter," he adds, "but I can't make as much. And I tell you when a fellow has



REFUSED TO SCAB, ANNA FEJTKO.



LISTENING TO THE DEMANDS.



VOTING FOR THE DEMANDS.

as many little tots as I have, he needs every cent he can get.

Gowin has bought a little lot out at Shop 97 on the Barberton line. Working evenings last summer and on Sundays, he made the cement blocks, bought lumber and lone-handed built a home. He had visions of a cozy winter.

"My wife and I talked it all out," he said. "But it hasn't worked out very well. Seems like the pay gets less all the time, under the piece work system."

One of Gowin's daughters, a girl in her teens, has gone to work. She'd have liked finishing school, but there were a half dozen little tots to clothe and buy medicine and milk for.

Less than six months ago, the children had nice clothes for Sunday school. Now the dresses and little suits are bought for wear.

"Back under the day work system men made \$4 to \$7 for skilled labor," said Gowin. "But this piece-work speeding has hit them all about like me—only most of them haven't so many children.

"This strike hits me pretty hard. I'm not complaining, you understand. I went out on my own hook, even if I did stick till Monday because I thought I couldn't spare the money.

"I hope it comes out right for us. If it's the same when we go back, I think I'll have to sort of start life over again—working at something else.

"It's pretty late, when a fellow gets nearly fifty, but the pays keep shrinking and the children grow bigger and more expensive, and I guess it's the only way."

The strikers early opened a soup kitchen and the way the workers elsewhere are responding now show that they do not mean to have any of their comrades suffer. Several hundred rubber workers walked out in Cleveland and the bosses of the scab factories in Detroit are wringing their hands and "laying off" men because automobiles without tires are about as useful as snow shoes on the sea.

One night early in March a stranger to Akron dropped off an evening train. He saw the groups of men gathered about the city and asked if there was some kind of a celebration going on. "Nope," said one of the ex-rubber workers—"only a strike." "Well, well," the stranger said, "and I



"RED" BESSEMER OF CLEVELAND ADDRESSING STRIKERS.

came here to get a job in one of the factories. I guess I'll be beating it. I'm not so yellow that I have to scab, even if I AM broke."

On Friday, Feb. 28, Haywood stopped off a day at Akron and several thousand strikers met him at the train and paraded through the factory and business districts of Akron. Haywood spoke to two immense strike meetings. He said in part:

"The greatest weapon you can use against the rubber robbers just now is to keep your hands in your pockets. When you have your hands in your pockets, the capitalist can't get his there, and unless the capitalist has his hands in your pockets, he has got to go to work. So during the time of this strike, let there be no violence on your part, not the destruction of one cent's worth of property, not one cross word. You have got this strike won if you will but stand together in One Big Union.

"If the boss starves you back to work then you know how to win this strike on the inside of the factory. Don't use the speeding-up, but the slowing-down process. This is an up-to-date organization, and we are fighting with modern weapons. The workers who understand the program and the policy of the I. W. W. will never again



LISTENING TO THE SPEAKERS.

be defeated. We are organized now and fighting this battle for an eight-hour day.

"As I said to you this morning, if you work only eight hours that is going to make room for more men and more women, and as the unemployed come into work, then the wages are going up. Your wages are going up anyway, because you are going to stand together until we force them up. Four dollars per week, or four and one-half is altogether too little for a girl to try and live on, and live decently, and every girl, or a large per cent of them, would live decently if they got wages enough. But it is not a question of girlhood or womanhood with the rubber trusts. What they want is cheap labor. Cheap labor means to them more profits.

"Just remember, men that we are the working class and it doesn't make any difference what our nationality may be. My father was born in this state, I was born in this country and am an American.

"There are no foreigners in the working class except the capitalist. He is the fellow we are after and we are going to get him. We are going to get Mr. Seiberling. If he is too old to work, we will get his son, and put him right in the rubber factory alongside the rest of 'em.

"You simply get back enough to keep

alive and in shape to work. If any of you fall by the wayside, and the undertaker visits your home, it doesn't make any difference to Mr. Seiberling. Now working-men, it is for you to organize. This strike is your strike. The success of this strike depends on you. There is no one else to fight.

"If you had a picket line out every morning representing a crowd as big as this there would not be anybody going to work. You can influence enough to prevent them going to work. Get on the job in the morning in the picket line and visit these friends of yours at night in their homes.

"Get this organization so that it will be 100 per cent strong. We will try, as we did at Lawrence, to raise money enough to carry you through."

"I have a warning to issue here," he said. "Those in authority must forget this proposition of wearing out their clubs on the strikers' heads. They made the laws and there are proper processes for them to follow. Let them live up to it. If a striker violates law, let them arrest him and bring him before the court.

"But I want to appeal to you strikers to conduct this strike along the peaceful lines you have been. You built this city

and the rubber barons are realizing that you are necessary to its prosperity. They are realizing that until you are getting better pay and better hours, their profits won't increase."

On March 8th when the strikers were peacefully picketing before the Goodrich rubber plant, 50 police and deputy sheriffs, with billies and black-jacks, responded to Sheriff Fergusson's command to drive strikers off that side of the street, by clubbing men, women and young girls right and left.

Those who hesitated, heard the sheriff's cry, "Wade in and get busy if you don't want to lose your jobs," and rallied to do the dirty work of the rubber kings. Fortunately one patrolman, Fred Viereck, in his zeal to nail down his meal ticket, made an attempt to mow down all those who stood in his way. His club beat the air in circular fashion like a huge scythe. He looked neither to the right nor to the left and so the gods decreed that as he swung wildly at the strikers, he should give the sheriff a vicious crack over the face. They do tell how the sheriff is now going about minus a few front teeth and wearing a face that looks like a piece of raw liver.

It is a comfort to know that he received what he had given. He cast his bread upon the waters and it was returned to him. We hope that Officer Viereck will receive a raise in pay for strict adherence to duty.

Local Elyria of the S. P. of Ohio, has a splendid plan for raising funds for the strikers. The comrades persuaded Mr. Georgeple, manager of the American moving picture theater, to donate the profits of his show for one evening to the strikers. When Mr. Georgeple came to turn over his profits, he went the whole way and

donated the entire receipts, about \$70.00. They then "held up" Fred Tunnington, manager of the Coliseum Rink, for one day's receipts amounting to \$133.62. This shows what a red local with its fighting clothes on can do.

The Cleveland reds cooperated with 20 girl strikers from Akron in pulling off a tag day and over \$400.00 was collected in spite of the city authorities.

Comrade Josephine Bates, who has been actively engaged in the strike is out in the state on a collection tour with Celia Liptschitz, of Pittsburgh, and a squad of girl strikers to swell the war chest. Matilda Raboniwitz, who did splendid work in the Little Falls Fight is on the job at Akron.

The strikers are in need of funds. Every local in the country can raise \$50 for their benefit, if the comrades so desire. When you send in your contribution, to Comrade J. W. Boyd, at 140 South High street, Akron, Ohio, don't forget to send a letter of encouragement to the strikers and tell them just how you raised the money. It is an inspiration to them to know they have the backing of the working class.

This is the first big strike in Akron. Many workers there have been too busy trying to keep up with the increasing pace set by the new stop-watch timekeepers, to realize the growing solidarity of the workers all over the world. This is a chance for you to show them.

Just a little help from each one of us and the strike will be won, and the workers of Akron will learn a lesson in class solidarity that is the first big step toward the abolition of the profit system.

"Ten thousand Haywoods can't plant the red flag in Akron.

*** * ***

"Akron citizens are willing to pay Red Haywood's railway fare to any point he may want to go to, but they want him to go in a hurry."—From The Akron Times.

Cells of the New Society

By

Phillips Russell

NOT long ago I attended a meeting of the Central Committee of Local No. 20 of the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers at Lawrence. There were delegates present from each language branch of the local union.

I was much interested, not only because I was curious to see what kind of an organization remained a year after the historic strike of the winter of 1912, but because it occurred to me at the time that I was watching the development of a cell of the new society.

Here were thirty or forty workingmen, comparative strangers to each other a short time before, more or less separated by differences in race, nationality, politics, religion and custom, who sat down in perfect amity to discuss their common interests as workers in an industry; to work out their problems as producers, to regulate as far as lay within their, as yet limited, power their conditions of toil and to provide for the good and welfare of all.

The Italian sat next the German, the Syrian next the Frenchman, the Pole next the Portuguese, the Lithuanian next the American, and an Irishman was chairman over all!

The Jew here was just the same as the Christian, the Catholic was just as good as the Protestant, the dyer's voice was just as potent as the perch's.

For Producers Only.

They had met to discuss not art or religion or science or politics, but industry. The scientist, the preacher, the lawyer, the politician, the college bred student of government, was useless to them now. They

needed no guides, leaders or teachers. None of these could tell them anything about the problems of the worker in the textile industry. They were thrown entirely upon their own resources, must depend on their own knowledge, use their own brains. The most highly trained professor from Harvard or Heidelberg, the most skillful lawyer in the world, the most learned writer in the United States, could now tell them nothing about the proper manner to cope with a new machine, about the best way to adjust the work of the wool sorter with that of the spinner, about the right job to provide for a crippled worker. These were concrete problems of life and labor that only the worker who had gained experience in the industry could solve.

Here, then, was the future society in embryo. For the future society will be not so much concerned with the government of men as the administration of things.

Government at present is largely taken up with the regulation of the personal conduct of men and women. It tells a man he must not play baseball on Sunday or sell a friend a drink of whisky one minute after midnight on Saturday. It tells a woman she must not leave one man and marry another without obtaining the consent of the law. It tells a child it must not walk on the grass in the public parks.

Different in the Future

We will have no time for this sort of foolishness in the new society. Our time will be better employed. We won't care whether a man takes a drink at 11:59 or 12:01. If a woman decides she likes one

man more than another it will be her privilege to make her own choice. If a child wants to play on the green grass, there will be plenty for him to revel in.

Then, too, government as we have been made familiar with it, is much occupied with acting as a policeman for those who have all the good things of life against those who have none of them. You mustn't walk across your neighbor's field because that is his private property and you are committing trespass. You mustn't take away from the factory a pair of shoes, which you have made, because they belong to your employer and you are committing theft. You mustn't loaf out in the sunshine because that belongs to your betters—you ought to be at work piling up profits for an already rich man, and you are a vagrant anyhow. You mustn't take a ride on the railroad train without paying a high price for the privilege because the railroad is owned by somebody else.

So laws and courts and policemen are provided to make you behave yourself and stay in your proper place—underneath. And every year or so white-collared men go from various states and districts to Washington and assemble into what they call Congress, for the purpose of making more laws and creating more institutions by which the accumulated property and ill-gotten gains of the owners of the earth may be protected and safeguarded.

That is a Political Congress. It is concerned with problems of politics, not the good and welfare of those who do the work of the world.

Unnecessary Acts.

But the new society will have no use for any such institution. There will be no need for a set of men to meet and fix the legal rate of interest at 6 per cent because there won't be any more interest. There will be no need for laws regulating monopoly because there won't be any more monopolies. There will be no need for appropriations of \$10,000,000 each for battleships because there won't be any more battleships. There

won't be any more sending of Federal troops to break strikes because there won't be any more Federal troops or strikes either. There won't be any further necessity for passing laws which say thou shalt not deprive a corporation of its private property without due process of law because there won't be any more private property of that kind. There won't be any need for laws which say you shan't ship goods of a certain character from Ohio into Florida because there won't be any more state lines.

The congress of the future will be an Industrial Congress. It will be an enlargement and extension of such central committees as that at Lawrence. It will be composed of workingmen and working women, of those who perform some useful function in society, of those who produce something needed or demanded by the people as a whole. And there won't be a lawyer, a real estate dealer, or a Wall street broker among them; though there may be doctors and dentists and even actors.

The Coming Congress.

This congress will discuss, not Politics, but Industry. And by this is meant industry in the larger sense. Safeguarding the public health and fighting disease is as much an industry, for example, as making steel.

The members of this congress will come not from New York or Texas, or from the tenth district in Kansas, or from Pike county, Arkansas, but from the textile industry, the coal mining industry, the transportation industry, the farm industry, and so on. The gold miner will meet there with the musician, the fisherman with the shoemaker, the wheat grower with the newspaperman, the stonemason with the shirtwaist maker. There they will work out their conditions of labor. There they will regulate production and arrange distribution.

They will discuss not men, but things. They will deal not with theories but work. They will be concerned not with politics, but humanity.

Edison's Talking Moving Pictures

IN THE midst of an unusually excellent vaudeville performance given at one of the Chicago theaters this month, the house was suddenly darkened, and a moving picture of a man was thrown on what seemed to be an ordinary screen.

The pictured man, advanced to the front of the pictured stage, bowed and smiled. Then he opened his moving-picture lips and spoke to us. For five minutes we listened to a lecture explaining the newest Edison invention, the talking-picture machine.

"The kinetophone," he said, "is the most wonderful achievement of the day. It will make it possible for millions of people to see the face, the form, the gestures of the great lecturer and to hear his voice. Hitherto impossible beauty, formerly unattainable experiences may be brought within the reach of the poorest laborer. The man whose words have inspired and taught us—may be preserved for future generations."

Then this wonderful speaking, moving, picture man broke a few plates, and we heard them as they smashed to the floor. He called his dogs and they barked so naturally that a cat that was snoozing in the lobby awoke and beat a hasty retreat.

A young woman was introduced into the picture, who sang exquisitely from Martha, accompanied by a young pianist. At the closing words of the lecturer and as the last note of the young woman's song died away, the audience broke into enthusiastic applause precisely as though it had been seeing and listening to the words of a real man and a real woman instead of a talking and singing, moving picture. After our spontaneous burst of applause, many of us looked about sheepishly. We had been swept off our feet and many

of us felt a little bit ridiculous to be caught applauding, since there was no actual man or woman to hear our praise.

But this surely was a worth-while triumph to Mr. Edison. He had made his pictures so real to us that we forgot they were not living flesh and blood.

This was the first public appearance in Chicago of the talking motion picture. Mr. Edison has said that as soon as he was able to project an animated photograph upon a screen, he determined not to be satisfied until he could produce the spoken word with it.

The first attempts along this line were to adjust the moving pictures to a perfect phonograph record. But it was never possible to secure absolute harmony between the two records in this way. Either the speaking or singing voice ran away from the picture or lagged behind. And either was far less desirable than the phonograph or motion picture used alone.

After many years experimenting, Edison has achieved a synchronizing device, a marvel of mechanical ingenuity—which records sounds and action simultaneously and reproduces it exactly as taken. This apparatus is called the kinetophone.

The ordinary phonographic record is made with the speaker talking directly into the receiving horn. When orchestra records are made, megaphones are attached to each and every instrument. It has always been impossible to get a good record of sounds produced at any appreciable distance from the horn.

In the action of a play or an opera, the players are constantly moving about. They retreat; they advance; cross and recross the stage. In the kinetophone it is impossible to use the ordinary receiving horn

because it would be reproduced in the moving picture.

Mr. Edison had first to perfect a receiving horn that would record the smallest sound at a distance. The one used in the kinetophone will record sounds at a distance of forty feet.

It is no longer difficult to take the ordinary motion picture. The scenes are laid and the actors go through their parts. The chief anxiety of the operator is to keep them always within focus. Then he has only to grind out foot after foot of exposed film. In taking a talking picture the actors must play their parts precisely as though they were on a real stage, bearing in mind the fact that they are being photographed and the need of talking toward the sound recorder.

In the initial appearance, in Chicago this month, the voices of the picture actors grew in volume as they advanced toward the picture footlights and decreased as they retreated, increasing their naturalness wonderfully.

From the descriptions of the mechanical operation of the kinetophone we gather that it is not more difficult than the ordinary "movie." Back of the screen is placed the phonograph and the record is thrown through a horn directly back of the screen. It is connected by wires to the projecting machine, which is generally manipulated from the balcony of the theater. When released, the talking record sets the pace for the film. Unity being established, the operator may shut his eyes

while operating the film machine and the sound record. The difficult work is done automatically.

In a recent magazine article Mr. Edison is quoted as having said the moving picture should be installed in every school house in the world. He predicted that the time was not so very far distant when geography, history, economics, biology, physiology and many other studies would be taught by the moving picture. The talking-movie is a great improvement. And if Mr. Edison carries on the work as outlined, in the not distant future we may find teachers driving the children home from, instead of to, school as has been the case as far back as we can remember.

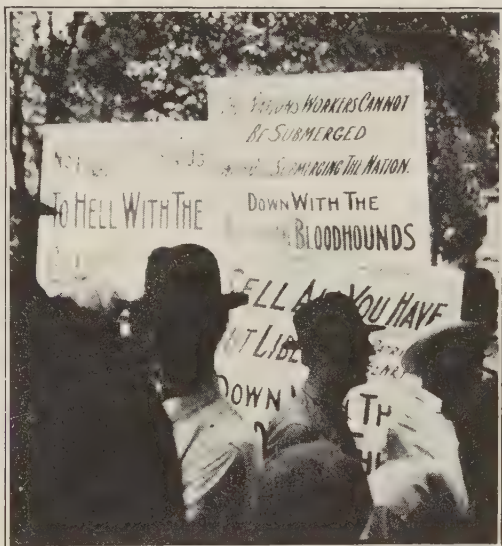
School should be a pleasure to every child. The motion picture will make many things concrete instead of abstract. Formosa will no longer remain in the child mind a pink blot on a map of blue. It will be a real island, with the waves dashing upon its shores.

They all see the invasion of the island by the Japanese. Their brutal struggles with the natives; the natives retreating into the mountains and Japan's seizure of the rich camphor-tree lands. They will never forget the economic cause of Japan's invasion of Formosa.

Instead of learning the names and dates of the various kings and queens, or the dry and meaningless laws of a given period in history, children will be shown the fascinating economic changes that have been the great, real history makers of all time.

Violence in West Virginia

By Ralph H. Chaplin



“THEY got my gun when they run me out of the creek, but I done borried my buddy’s, and I’m goin’ back.” This is what a slender, grimy lad of sixteen told me one night in the freight yards of a town not far from the martial law zone. He was picking coal for his mother and sisters at “home” in the tent. His father was in the bull-pen at Patt. The boy had a bullet wound on his shoulder and numerous bayonet holes in the seat of his ragged breeches. “Took seven of them to run me out,” he boasted, with a grin.

“What are they doing to you all down there?” I asked.

“It isn’t what they’re doin’; it’s what they’re trying to do. If they had their way about it, they’d give us hell—but we won’t let ‘em. It’s a whole lot better living in a tent than in a company shack, and we’re just goin’ to stick there until we win. Just wait till the leaves come out, so they cain’t see us. Buddy, we’ll show ‘em!”

After spending four or five days in the strike region and talking with hundreds of miners, I can say that the boy summed

up the entire situation in his few words. The strikers have “kicked over the traces” and have made up their minds to win at all costs. They are determined to do this all by themselves, if necessary—and in their own way.

In spite of the “heart throb” articles in some of the daily papers, these people are not objects of pity. They are doing pretty well in their tents. There is no atmosphere of martyrdom about these fighting West Virginians—nothing but a grim good humor and an iron determination. There is no pretense about them—no display. They are in deadly earnest, and they mean business. Lots of kind-hearted people who would shed tears for the “poor miners” living in tents would probably think these same miners in their right places if they were picking away at a coal bank in some black pit. The fact that many of the strikers seem to rather enjoy the situation and rest from the mines makes some of the local respectables furious with rage. It isn’t just what one would expect of a striker to see him holding his head high and walking around as if he owned the whole valley.

Of course, there are sufferings and hardships. Many men wear mourning on their hats and many women have husbands, brothers or fathers in the bullpens—but they are *going to win this strike*; they are sure of it, and this fact makes them feel equal to anything.

It is true that they have tasted of hell since the strike began, but before that time they lived in hell *all the time*. Conditions in West Virginia are and have been without parallel in the United States. Peonage and serfdom have flourished under the most brutal forms. West Virginia is the one state that has tried to make abject slaves of its miners—that has herded them in peon pens without a vestige of “constitution” liberty, with cut-throat mine guards to protect them from the contaminating influence of organizers and agitators.

For many years the grisly vampire of Greed has fluttered its condor wings and fattened on the very heart's blood of these men—helpless for *want of effective organization*. Miners are working in company towns who seldom see money—nothing but paper script—men who dare not speak a word of criticism of the intolerable conditions under which they labor, or even hint that organization is desirable. The blacklist and the brutal mine guards

are every ready to punish such indiscretions.

Women have been beaten on the breasts and kicked into convulsions while in a state of pregnancy—men have been shot up and man-handled, all because they had dared to raise their voices in protest. Indignity after indignity has been heaped upon the workers in the hell-holes of this state, until they have united into one big Brotherhood of Revolt. They are standing shoulder to shoulder with the *only weapons available in their hands*, fighting to overthrow the dismal industrial despotism that is crushing them. These miners are remarkable in many ways. In spite of all they have endured, their spirits have not been broken. They have been hoarding their hate for many years and biding their time. At present they are *waiting for the leaves to come out*.

Types of Americans are to be found in the Kanawha valley that have been extinct in other parts of this country for years—the types that still cherish the instinct of self-reliance and independence which characterized the frontiersman of a couple of generations ago. Each one of these miners was raised with a rifle and is at home on the hillsides. Solidarity is something more than a word in Kanawha county; it is a tremendous and spontane-



KEEPING HOUSE IN THE HILLS OF WEST VIRGINIA.

ous force—a force born in the hot heart of the class struggle. As yet the tactics of modern industrial warfare are a closed book to these men, but they are learning fast. Kanawha county showed the *largest gain on record in Socialist votes* during the last election. When the powers that be nullified any benefits the miners might derive in this way, by means of martial law—well, they just returned to their rifles. And when the *officials of the United Mine Workers tied their organization up with a thousand clumsy contracts*—each contract as heavy to drag along as a ball and chain—so that *they could not strike in sympathy with their brothers*—well, they just returned to their rifles. They are excellent shots, absolutely fearless, and as staunch and determined a bunch of fighters as ever learned through bitter experience the need of class brotherhood. When they once learn the supreme lesson of *unity on the job and in the strike*, these men will be a tough proposition for the bosses to face.

The class struggle means something to West Virginia miners. They are using violence only because no better weapons are handy. Gladly would they go out on strike, in every part of the state, if the union "officials," with their sacred contracts, would permit of it. If there is anyone more to blame for this violence than the blind and insatiable coal operator it is the labor faking official who has tied the miners' hands with stupid agreements, leaving no other recourse but the rifle. They would be willing and glad, to the last man, to participate in a state-wide strike, and eventually they will insist upon it, and Germer and his bunch, who are always howling at the fallacy of aught but the pure and simple way, will be swept to one side, while the revolution goes marching on. A strike of all the coal miners would be so much simpler, so much more effective. Violence is the last resort of a divided "organization." The general strike would enable the workers to fight the bosses without fighting their own class at the same time.

The miners are learning—learning fast. Learning by watching union miners at work—under contract, all around them; union railroad men hauling mine guards and strikebreakers into the strike zone and hauling scab-mined coal out. Some

of them cannot forget that it was men with union cards in their pockets who put steel plates on the private war engines of the masters! An armored train was being assembled at the C. & O. shops here in Huntington a short time ago. It was to be perfectly bullet-proof, in order to insure the safety of such scabs and soldiers as the operators might see fit to pour into the strike zone when occasion required. A hellish contraption it surely was—covered with steel plates, bristling with machine guns and loop-holed for rifles. The union men at the shops looked at the thing askance, realizing that it was to be used against members of their own class. The machinists shied at it like mules from a white blanket, and so it was up to the boilermakers and the carmen. These were pretty much undecided as to whether they would touch it at all or not, when some Holy Rollers among the latter said they would pray and ask Jesus what they should do. So they prayed and asked Jesus, and came back with the report that Jesus said it was all right, to go ahead and put on the plates!

The operators, realizing that violence has always been their big trump, thought they would have everything their own sweet way when trouble started. Everything was in their favor—armed guards and regiments of militiamen—so why should they not feel confident? But it is evident that the miners have fooled them. The miner knew the hills better than the blood-hounds that were sent to track them down. After a few months of it, the odds are just about even, and the fight is not half over. Soldiers in the strike zone are becoming uneasy and are using the slightest excuse to make a getaway. Many of the guards have deserted their posts of duty in a panic. One hundred and fifty of them have paid for treason to their class with their lives! They are in mortal fear of the time when the bleak hillsides will be covered with greenery—when "the leaves come out!"

The miners have been hounded into the using of violence. Just an instance in which the above-mentioned armored train figures conspicuously: This train is called, for some reason or other, the Bull Moose Special. Needless to state, it is thoroughly hated by the miners. The engineer and fireman and others of the train

crew are reported to be extremely proud of the union cards they carry. This hellish contraption was a lovely plaything to put into the hands of the cut-throat, coyote-hearted guards and, like children with a new pop-gun, they were simply aching for an opportunity to use it against the strikers. The opportunity soon presented itself. Just how it came about nobody seems to know. The guards claim that some of the miners had fired into an ambulance carrying wounded mine-guards to the hospital. The strikers claim that the train was first used to avenge the death of a couple of guards who had been held to account for insulting some of the girls in the tent village. I, myself, have spoken with miners who claim to have been eye-witnesses to the insulting of these girls.

Mine guards are noted for their inhuman and brutal treatment of the women of the miners. Their authoritative positions often gave them advantages over the helpless women, especially in the absence of the men, and the full record of their unrestrained animal viciousness will never be written. Between the miners and the guards there is an open war to the knife. More than once these Kanawha cossacks have evicted mothers, in the pangs of childbirth, from company houses, and children have been born in the tents of the strikers while the murderous bullets of the guards were whistling and zipping through the canvas. At all events these cut-throats of the coal operators had the long wished for chance to use the Bull Moose special. They would have their revenge. So in the dead of night, and with all lights extinguished, the Death Train drew up over the sleeping tent village at Holly Grove and opened fire with machine gun and rifle. Miners' huts were torn to splinters and tents were riddled with bullets. One woman had both legs broken by the murderous rain of lead; and a miner, holding an infant child in his arms and running from his tent to the shelter of a dugout, fell, seriously wounded. The baby was, by some miracle, unhurt, but three bullet holes had tattered the edge of its tiny dress. Men, women and children ran hastily through the dark night seeking the cold security of the woods. The miners, as could be expected, were desperate

enough to do most anything and returned the fire as best they could. Bonner Hill, sheriff of Kanawha county, who was only elected by a small and suspicious majority over Tincher the Socialist, candidate, was on the train, and it is claimed by the train crew that it was he who gave the order to fire the first murderous volley.

In the morning the miners attempted to return to the ruins of their "homes," but the mine-guards on the hillsides continued to fire upon them in order to drive them back. All day and all night the battle raged, but the guards had the advantage. So on the following morning the miners decided to remove to a less exposed location. Thereupon the little band of valiant but homeless wanderers started for Mucklow, with their few belongings on their backs. But their troubles were not yet over. They had not traveled far when their march was opposed by the cowardly mine guard captain, Fred Lester and his gang. The guards unexpectedly opened fire at first sight. The miners surrounded their women and children and the situation began to look serious. Captain Lester was getting a machine gun ready for use when the miners let loose a well aimed broadside in the general direction of that prolific little blood spiller. The gallant cockroach captain was unaccustomed to do batte with men who would fight back. So he ordered a hasty retreat, and he and his delectable gang broke for the tall timber, leaving the machine gun to the miners. It is reported that Captain Lester led the retreat by about six hundred yards. A short time later the weary and wayworn band of hounded outcasts were completely surrounded by the uniformed scab-herders of the operators—the militiamen. Seventy-five miners were arrested and thrown into bull-pens, where they are now awaiting court martial trials.

For a few days after this episode Hell broke loose in the Kanawha valley. Ugly rumblings of rage were heard all over the state and even from nearby states came rumors of revolt. Armed miners poured into the trouble district from all sides and it is reported that an attempt was made to destroy the hated Death Train. In a pitched battle sixteen men were

killed, or rather four men and twelve mine guards. The miners fought like demons, at times standing directly under the death-spitting machine guns of the train, and firing into the loop holes at the guards. After the battle the Bull Moose Special was just about as much shot to pieces as is the record of Roosevelt, its namesake. More miners were arrested, among whom was John Brown, organizer for the Socialist party. Mother Jones, C. H. Boswell, Paul Paulsen and Charles Batly were also arrested, but in Charleston, as "accessories before the fact." Charleston happens to be over twenty miles from the martial law zone. So these people were kidnapped and spirited away to that greed-sanctified section, there to await a military trial, with five distinct charges placed against them—charges varying in gravity from stealing machine guns to murder! Writs of habeas corpus were secured and the "felonious culprits" were brought to Charleston under a heavy military guard. They were brought into the dimly lighted court room to witness a farcical drama of "Justice." White-haired, venerable Mother Jones and the rest of the undesirables listened with smiles of unconcern while the Supreme Court declared that the military authorities have a perfect right to "hold and detain" the accused parties until peace could be restored.

It was hoped by some that martial law would be held to be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court, however, refused to consider the question of its legality. Attorney Harold W. Houston, of Charleston, rested great hopes on the successful outcome of the struggle to wring justice from the courts. He is a splendid fighter and an excellent lawyer, but it is evident that even lawyers are learning things these days. Socialists will do well to watch closely the result of these trials and the after effects. They are bound to prove interesting.

A brief account of a trip made by Comrade Rumbaugh, of Hurricane, W. Va., and myself to the danger zone, might be of interest to readers of the REVIEW. We rode into Charleston "on the front end" and found that city to have the appearance of a place preparing for a siege. Martial law had been declared but a short time previously and the streets were full



JOHN BROWN, SOCIALIST AGITATOR NOW WEARING BALL AND CHAINS.



C. H. BOSWELL, SOCIALIST EDITOR NOW IN MILITARY CONFINEMENT.

of soldiers. Yellow-legged sentries were stationed in front of the state house and the governor's residence. It was rumored that machine guns were mounted in the upper windows of the former building, commanding both entrances to the capitol grounds. A sentry was also stationed in front of the office of the *Labor Argus* to guard Comrade W. H. Thompson, who is editing that paper while Comrade Boswell is being "detained" in the bull pen. Comrade Thompson is an ex-Kanawha county coal miner and is unblushingly "red." He is the editor of the *Huntington Socialist and Labor Star* and he has put up as staunch a fight for the cause of the miners as any man in the state. At the city jail we witnessed the interesting spectacle of a bunch of "tin horns" bringing a prisoner from the military district to the city lockup. As the great iron gates swung open to receive them, the spectators commenced hissing the soldiers, calling them "scab herders" and other expressive names. Some of the "yellow legs" glared at these people brazenly but, may they be given due credit, others of the soldiers hung their heads with shame, as if such condemnation from members of their own class was more deadly to them than bullets.

From Charleston we took the labor train that was to carry us into the martial law zone. At Cabin Creek we were almost arrested with a bunch of miners in the car who were poking fun at the grave and ludicrous antics cut by some of the would-be man-killers in khaki. At the Paint Creek junction we remained for several hours, ostensibly to visit some soldier boys of our acquaintance, but in reality to secure information and photographs for the *REVIEW* and the *Labor Star*. Comrade Rumbaugh was afterwards arrested and relieved of his camera for attempting to take photographs to illustrate this article. We spoke with dozens of the soldiers, and one of them, an ex-mine guard, admitted that the guards use dum-dum bullets against the miners. He told of two miners who had been killed with these proscribed missiles, one man who had the top of his head completely shot off and another who received a death wound in the breast large enough to "stick your fist into." The freight house at Paint Creek has been converted into a

bull pen, and over fifty men are now incarcerated there, only three of whom are not native West Virginians. The interior of this place would make a Siberian prison pen look like a haven of refuge. The sleeping accommodations are inadequate, ventilation poor and the floors filthy beyond description. Even with two or three men sleeping in the coal-bin there is no room for the others. The only papers the prisoners are permitted to read are the reactionary local rags and the *National Socialist*. Mother Jones, Charles Boswell and John Brown have somewhat better quarters elsewhere in town. A sentinel is constantly measuring his paces before the door of each. Dear old Mother Jones in the bull-pen and guarded by armed mercenaries of the Mine Owners! The very thought of it makes blood boil, here in West Virginia.

From Paint Creek we hiked up the Kanawha river to Montgomery and from thence to Boomer. We wanted to have a look at the dauntless Boomer men who are reported to have so willingly gone to the assistance of their brothers down stream, on a certain memorable night. In every little town we passed through, miners were gathered together in little anxious and excited groups. These were all discussing the various phases of the strike, the latest war news, martial law and the coming military trial of the bull-pen prisoners. The feeling is prevalent, throughout the Kanawha valley, that if these people meet with an unjust sentence at the hands of the "tin horn" Commission, there will simply be HELL to pay. Nor is this sentiment confined to the strike zone. It extends far out into union territory, not yet affected by the strike, and even into other states.

On my last trip I traveled all through the New River and Green Briar sections of this strife torn state and even on into old Virginia. This entire region seems rotten ripe for real revolutionary unionism. If the splendid spirit of solidarity displayed by these miners could be used effectually against the Operators and their tyrannical system, the result would be inspiring. If these strikers were permitted by their officials to use the tremendous and irresistible power of the state-wide strike they would set an example for the world. Seldom has the class struggle

produced such a splendid and deeply rooted feeling of class solidarity, backed up by such unswerving will and singleness of purpose. Each and every one of them is willing and anxious to get into the fight. They are all ready at a moment's notice to shoulder the musket of their forefathers and to fight and die for the cause of the strikers. And they would be just as willing to use the bloodless high pressure method of merely putting their hands in their pockets, until a greater degree of justice could be obtained for every organized and unorganized section of the state! These men are not in this struggle to *fight*; they are in it to *win*. They would be glad to fight in a bigger and less violent manner—if the Labor "leaders" would only let them.

From Boomer we freighted to Dickenson and had the rare opportunity of watching the whole panorama of the danger district unfold before our eyes. At the two junctions we could plainly see the yellow wigwams of the "yellow legs" with stacked rifles glistening beside them. Sentries were on duty here and there, and once or twice we thought we could catch glimpses of the deadly little machine guns in the rocks overlooking the town. Now and then we could see the frail tent villages of the miners, clustering lonesomely against the hillsides.

At Pratt, four machine guns are being kept in the parsonage of the local Presbyterian minister. This anointed of God is reported to have kindly donated his residence for this purpose in order to testify to his great admiration for "law and order." And this is the spirit of all of the middle class apologists of the state, not only preachers, but newspapers, politicians and labor fakirs. They are hysterical in proclaiming their love for the "law" and those who uphold it. Noble creatures they are, filled with wrath and fervor, exhorting, denouncing, directing. Mingling with one breath, faded half truths with blackest lies, and hypocritical praise of peace with the hoarse blood-cry of middle-class mediocrity.

But the workers of West Virginia are fast learning that this sickening grimace of respectability is only a mask with which to hide the grimness and cruelty of their real purpose, which purpose seems to be demoralization or organized resist-

ance to the greed of the Operators. These gentlemen are all making violence the only weapon that the miner can possibly use. They all, more or less, favor violence—but violence against the miner only. Violence on the part of a mine guard with his dum-dum bullets or the militiaman with his machine guns is called—heroism, on the part of the striker with a rusty Springfield, it is called insurrection, lawlessness and felony. Had the miners throughout the state laid down their tools when the strike first commenced, they would have won out, bloodlessly, months ago. But it was not given them to do so. Since that time everything has tended to make them more desperate. The boasted constitutions of the state and nation have been trampled upon before their very eyes, and they themselves have been shot at, scoffed at and outraged repeatedly. And all of these things only served to further stir up newer and fiercer flames in the seething crater of the volcano in Kanawha County. If the miners, as a last resort, seek to use the selfsame weapons which their oppressors are using against them—who is to blame? Violence is here. I have seen it with my own eyes and I want to ask you "problem solvers" what you are going to do about it. Remember it was the Operators who first thought of using it. They went down into the bowels of the earth and evoked violence to use against the strikers. They dragged it up through the black mouths of the mines and turned it loose. And since that time it has been stalking over the hills like a red Thing from Hell. Some of the more desperate of the strikers welcomed it grimly and bade it do their bidding; some of the more faint hearted, hid and cowered before it praying that the rocks would fall and hide them from it. Timid people shuddered at the sight of it, and "respectable" folk, labor fakirs and students of "tactics," shook their feeble fists at it, and told it how "wrong" it was. The yelping editorial whores of the local newspapers snarled at it, snapped at its heels, threatening it with hanging, deportation and military execution. But the Thing only sulked away and squatted by the ruins of a burned coal tippie and leered unconcernedly over the bleak hill tops—waiting—waiting for *the leaves to come out*. WHO IS TO BLAME?

When the Leaves Come Out

By a Paint Creek Miner

THE hills are very bare and cold and lonely;
I wonder what the future months will bring?
The strike is on—our strength would win, if only—
O, Buddy, how I'm longing for the spring!

They've got us down—their martial lines enfold us;
They've thrown us out to feel the winter's sting,
And yet, by God, those curs could never hold us,
Nor could the dogs of hell do such a thing!

It isn't just to see the hills beside me,
Grow fresh and green with every growing thing.
I only want the leaves to come and hide me,
To cover up my vengeful wandering.

I will not watch the floating clouds that hover
Above the birds that warble on the wing;
I want to use this GUN from under cover—
O, Buddy, how I'm longing for the spring!

You see them there below, the damned scab-herders!
Those puppets on the greedy Owners' String;
We'll make them pay for all their dirty murders—
We'll show them how a starving hate can sting!

They riddled us with volley after volley;
We heard their speeding bullets zip and ring,
But soon we'll make them suffer for their folly—
O, Buddy, how I'm longing for the spring!

Public Speaking

By Grace Silver

Practical Soap-boxing

Part Five

THERE is a general impression amongst Socialists who have never tried to talk in public that anyone can mount a box on the street corner and deliver a successful Socialist speech, but that only a very brainy man of long training can go into a warm, well-lighted hall and interest the large and expectant audience awaiting him.

In consequence of this prevailing belief, a large number of well-meaning but ignorant and misinformed Socialists have been allowed to spread a vast amount of error and muddled economics, thus injuring the cause they assumed to defend. Party members, knowing nothing of economics, little about grammar and pronunciation, and less than nothing (or worse than nothing) of the working program of Socialism, have freely offered their services as soap-boxers and been as freely accepted by various locals. Result: First, the public gained an erroneous idea of Socialism, and those who attended such meetings thought that all Socialist speakers were like the first specimen and that all Socialism was the same as the brand he had expounded. Naturally they refused to go to other meetings; second, Socialist locals came to look down upon the soap-boxer and to undervalue and neglect the street meeting as a method of propaganda. It requires at least four intelligent agitators to undo the work of one of the other sort.

The soap-boxer should first of all consider his audience. A street crowd is the most critical gathering in the world. Once you get men and women into a hall they will stay. Socialists in the audience are tolerant of even a poor speaker; and it is embarrassing for strangers to get up and leave without reasonable excuse. The man who listens to a street speaker will move on inside of two minutes unless something

has been said which awakens his interest. The soap-boxer, therefore, cannot indulge in long-winded essays and ethereal excursions. He must come to the point quickly unless he wishes to expound Socialism to the adjacent atmosphere. He must be accurate in his statements, thus easily distinguishable from the politicians and reformers. His audience demands live matter but scorns sensationalism. There is always someone present who will quickly detect an error or a false or exaggerated statement and use his freedom of speech in bringing ridicule and discredit upon the speaker.

The soap-boxer has one great mission. He must awaken from their slumber contented, satisfied wage slaves. He must reach the men who would not attend a hall meeting if given free tickets. He must show them that things are *not* all right. Therefore he must have *facts* at his tongue's end. Argument counts for nothing with the man who believes that, "prosperity is rampant." The ideal of the Co-operative Commonwealth doesn't appeal to him; he's there now—in his mind. But FACTS will rouse him. The soap-boxer must be familiar with working conditions in various industries; with wages and their purchasing power in different localities; with the life stories of those who toil under a system of exploitation. He must make that contented wage slave see, as he sees, that things are *not* all right. In a word, the soap-boxer must know that the class struggle is something more than a phrase.

He must be familiar with the various strikes then in progress. By means of such labor news he can point the way to a better, more effective industrial organization. By such means he can best show the necessity of working class political action. Many

who hear him will be members of labor unions and they will go to their union meetings and repeat his words as their own.

In those cities where street meetings are a regular feature they furnish a real forum for the workers. And the bulk of those workers live in the class struggle. They go to those meetings in order to hear the problems of their class boldly discussed. They have a contempt for the speaker whose "conscience" leads him to speak kindly of the capitalists and to talk of recompense (on this earth) for that class. The street audience demands of the speaker a fairly definite program. They expect the speaker to have a plan of action for immediate use, and are unwilling to accept the pure and simplest answer:

"When we are in power we will know what to do."

The speaker must keep his fund of information up-to-date. Some speakers never heard of a strike since that of Cripple Creek, and have not yet sufficiently recovered from the brain fog superinduced by the effort put forth in mastering the details of the Moyer-Haywood affair to familiarize themselves with anything that has happened since.

Many speakers feel that a street audience is not worthy of the best they can give. All such should get into other lines of work. Many others hold that street audiences cannot be interested in economics. That is due solely to the speaker. They may not care to hear a thesis on surplus value; but what about panics and their cause? Economic determinism and the materialistic conception of history, as phrases, may be meaningless; but cannot the speaker tell of the part which steam and the power machine has played in the development of society? If the speaker has the working class psychology he can and will make the subject of economics interesting to the working class wherever he speaks; otherwise he can not. He must condense his definitions accurately; and he must have a fund of historical and modern incidents to illustrate and prove his statements.

Then, too, a street crowd demands more of wit and humor than does a hall audience. Usually it is more appreciative. A pertinent anecdote, a really funny story, will drive home a point more quickly and ef-

fectively than a ten-minute argument. Socialists are prone to take themselves and their philosophy too seriously. Our speakers sometimes forget that wit, humor and ridicule are the sharpest forms of argument. The naturally witty speaker should remember, however, that the soap-box is not a vaudeville stage. Somber undertakers and side-splitting comedians take warning.

The soap-boxer must, of course, be able to speak extemporaneously. Inability to do so is one reason why so many otherwise capable speakers, especially women, fail as soap-boxers. Those who must have a carefully memorized speech should never try to speak except in a hall. They will come to grief in the open air. It is true that the soap-boxer should have a subject and stick to it; it is also true that he may find that his chosen subject fails to interest and that to hold his crowd he must make a quick change. True, also, that a chance interruption or a question may turn the attention of the audience in a totally different direction. Then the speaker must follow and he must not stop talking, to think. Such moments mean the success or the failure of a street meeting. The soap-boxer must be able to think quickly and to act instantly. No audience voices its disapproval so suddenly and effectively as a street crowd.

The agitator who is new to the business will learn more about the meaning of the word psychology in his first month on the road than many printed volumes contain. No one can tell him how to manage an audience. It may be that he will never learn the art. A great orator once said that it required more skill to play upon the feelings of people than to play upon any musical instrument. But when the orator must instruct and educate his audience as well as play upon their feelings the task is doubly great. Socialist speakers therefore must have higher talents and more real ability than the rotund and bombastic orators of capitalism.

Especially is this true of the soap-boxer, for he must not only have the power to interest and arouse his audience; he must be able to hold them against counter attractions such as parades and street fakers. A dog fight or a passing fire engine has been known to break up an interesting meeting. He must know the quickest way to

squelch the interruptions of various trouble makers, and he must know the easiest methods of disposing of inebriates and policemen—and be able to turn these interruptions to his own advantage and thereby increase the size and interest of his audience.

Upon the agitator rests the management of the sale of literature and the taking of the collection. No street meeting can be considered a success unless a considerable amount of literature has been sold; and as for the collection, if it is small the local comrades feel that the speaker has not made good. In a few cities, soap-boxers work on a flat wage rate but in most cases they receive collections and their literature sales, paying their own railroad fare and expenses. Consequently the financial end of the meeting is a very vital part. The speaker should select for sale booklets appropriate to his general line of talk. Standard, well-bound pamphlets are nearly always best. Every speaker will, of course, have his individual preferences. Do not try to handle too many kinds but try to have enough of each one. The writer after trying a dozen or more of the best has for over a year carried in stock only six. Long experience has proven that these six furnish an excellent prescription for "first aid to contented slaves." They are: "Industrial Socialism," Haywood and Bohn; "Shop Talks on Economics," Mary E. Marcy; "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels; "How Capitalism Has Hypnotized Society," W. T. Brown; "Revolution," Jack London; "Crime and Criminals," Clarence Darrow.

If cloth bound books can be procured they will be found to be fairly salable. Speakers of no great ability have sold even Marx's "Capital," and Ward's "Ancient Lowly at street meetings. Fifty cent books sell readily.

Do not try to sell more than two kinds of ten cent booklets the same night. Do not talk more than half an hour without mentioning a pamphlet or book bearing on your subject. If possible, read an extract from each book or pamphlet you offer for sale, thus stimulating curiosity. Do not wait till the end of the meeting before taking the collection. Tell the crowd plainly what it is for. They appreciate frankness.

But just as a woman gives her lord a good meal before presenting a millinery bill, see to it that you first give your audience their fill of logic, wit and eloquence. A crowd just recovering from a good laugh or one just ready to cry, is really pleased to contribute nickels and dimes to the cause.

Do not fail to secure before the meeting competent literature sellers and collectors. The success of the meeting as much depends upon them as upon the speaker. When you have made your speech close the meeting and go home. Answer questions from the box; do not stand around after the meeting and argue with individuals. To do so wears out the speaker, loses prestige for him, convinces nobody and often leads to street rioting and needless conflicts with the police.

To sum up: Study the current literature of the class struggle, papers, magazines and books; study shop and living conditions wherever you go; study economics everywhere and all the time; study the art of answering questions briefly and intelligently. Study—don't loaf around headquarters.

Don't consider yourself a qualified soap-boxer until you have read something more than a ten-cent pamphlet. Study as you will, you will never learn it all. The class struggle continually takes on new phases. The study of Socialism, and of methods of agitation and organization is as long as life itself. Don't enter the field thinking that soap-boxing is an easy way to make a living. It is not. It is a precarious as well as a laborious existence, making a very great demand upon one's mental and physical resources. However, the joy and exhilaration of being a propagandist in this, the greatest world movement for the freedom of mankind, is far better than the gold and luxury of a capitalist apologist. If you are determined to join the army of agitators remember that six months or a year spent in intelligent study and preparation is superior to five years of haphazard practice upon the soap-box. Then, too, the public is spared the pain of listening to your blunders and the Socialist party will be spared the expense of sending around a number of experienced agitators to correct the harm you have done.



MONSTER PROTEST MEETING IN FRONT OF PARLIAMENT BUILDING, TOKYO, JAPAN.

The Democratic Uprising in Japan

By S. Katayama

THE rapid changes that have been wrought during the last two months in Japan are wonderful even to those who have been a part of them. It was only last December when the new Ministry under Prince Katsura, the sole leader of the bureaucracy, was formed. His able lieutenants have all been faithful servants for the last few decades. Some of the ministers and the inspector-general of the police department of the metropolis are notorious for shooting down the citizens of Tokyo at the time of the great riot at the conclusion of the Russo-Japan war.

But the people were not satisfied with the Katsura Ministry at all, and a popular agitation was started by a handful of Socialists who are editing a magazine (three times a month) called "Tokyo Shinbun," a journal of democratic tone.

It is edited to gain some civil liberties, for a Socialist paper is not allowed to exist.

On the 5th of December a mass meeting of the people at the Tokyo Y. M. C. A. hall was called. It was, of course, purely a political meeting to arouse the public sentiment to understand the Katsura régime. This meeting was at once changed to a monster demonstration against the existing ministry. Several thousand people were present and speakers sounded a keynote of "Batsu-Joku-Taiji" (Destroy the bureaucratic class rule!). This meeting was a first cannon sounding the doom of our bureaucracy. Soon political parties took up this battle cry and held two big demonstration meetings at two large theaters in the city successively, which became more and more a big battle cry against the clan govern-

ment. This move on the part of the political parties was taken up because they had sounded and found out at the first meeting gotten up by our comrades that the people were ripe for the popular movement and the movement against the bureaucracy.

This popular movement was taken up and carried on not only by the political parties, but also by various bodies. Even students of Imperial University and other colleges in the city took up the cry against the Katsura Ministry. This incessant agitation and demonstrations led the political parties—Seiyukai and Kokumiuto—to act in concert to vote against the Katsura Ministry, first, in the form of an interpellation and then in the form of an impeachment. This determined attitude from the opposition caused the Katsura Ministry to suspend the sitting of the Diet for 15 days, from the 21st of January to the 4th of February. At the same time Prince Katsura declared his intention of forming a political party. This declaration was made on the 20th of January. After the suspension of the Diet, the Prince worked very hard to get a sufficient number of M. P.'s to defeat the impeachment against him, but in vain.

He could get only 94 even by money and influence. It needed 191 members to defeat the impeaching resolution.

On the 5th of February the Diet was opened and the oppositions numbered 246, the Katsura party 94. The oppositions introduced the said resolution and were about to defeat the ministry by voting on it. At the very moment when the vote of confidence was to be taken, the Prince ordered the "suspension of the sitting of the Diet for another "five days."

On this day several thousand people went before the Parliament building and gave a lively demonstration to encourage the oppositions. This was a powerful demonstration, never before made by the people, to stimulate and stir the members of the opposition to fight against the Katsura Ministry.

The government, seeing this great popular demonstration just at the west side and the front of the Parliament building, feared the possible development of a big, powerful democratic movement, and on the 10th of February, when the Diet reopened, the government prepared fully to put down any sign of popular demonstration near and around the Parliament building by calling out 2,340 policemen,



TRYING TO GET INTO A HALL PROTEST MEETING.

50 mounted gendarmes and 20 mounted policemen. In spite of this high-handed manner of oppression and intimidation, the people gathered together near the Parliament building and crowds came nearer and nearer, and many entered the Diet to hear the debate on the resolution. These crowds near the Diet began to conflict with the police forces, and then the mounted police and gendarmes rode through the crowds right and left, trampling down the people under horses' hoofs and injuring many. Soon policemen began to fight with the drawn sabers and wounded many innocent and utterly unarmed citizens.

Seeing peaceful and innocent people sabered at random by the police, the crowds soon changed into a veritable mob, but they were not armed, and the only weapons they could command were pebbles and sand. But the supply was inadequate, for the streets were more or less paved.

The armed police, with the aid of mounted gendarmes, drove the crowds away from the vicinity of the Parliament. Now the crowd marched along the streets and stopped in front of bureaucratic dailies and shouted at the prostituted papers. Windows were broken; but

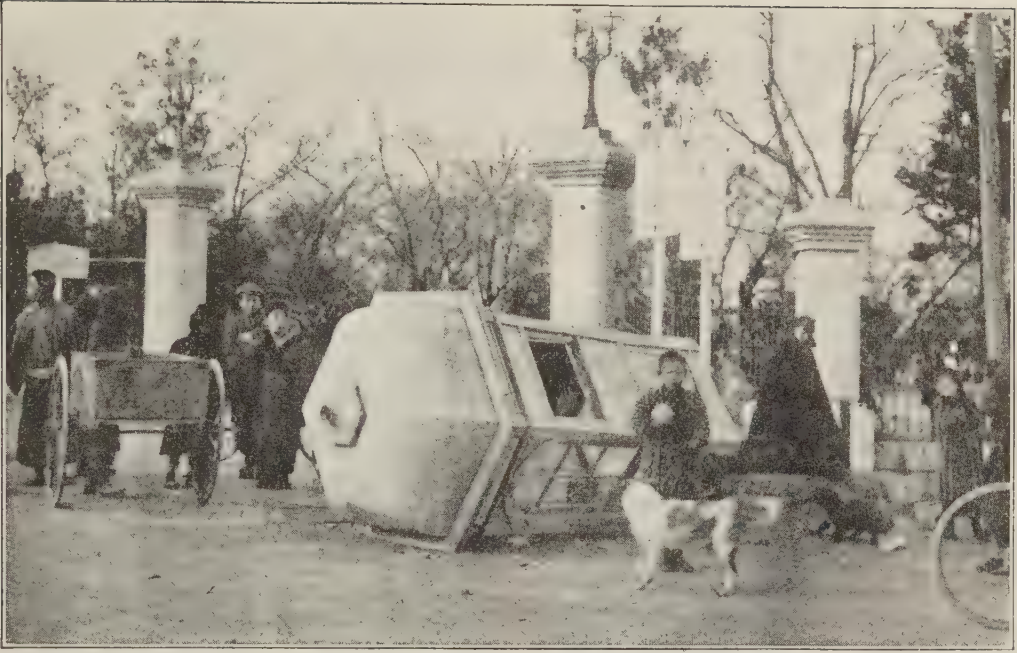
the majority were peaceful citizens, and many passersby. At last the large crowd came to the front of the Kokumin Shimbun, a noted bureaucratic paper. It shouted its contempt. Suddenly several shots came from windows of the building, and one Hara Gensaku, who had been passing, was shot dead. Several others were hurt. This outrageous attitude of the daily that is protected and aided by the police force, and later by fifty soldiers, enraged the people, who destroyed windows. Again the editor of the daily shot into the crowd.

At such inhuman conduct under the very eyes of the police the people rose in a frenzy and some started to destroy the police stations. One district police headquarters at Shitoya was burned by the enraged mob. It was reported that the policemen fought with sabers and hurt the innocent people by hundreds. Detectives instigated the people to riot, and the regular policemen arrested those pushed into the crowds and carried them away to the police station. Thus the riot of the 10th of February was a police made one.

There were over 80 police stations destroyed; 253 persons were arrested on the 10th, and now they number over 300.



OVER EIGHTY POLICE STATIONS DESTROYED.



AFTER THE "RIOT" WAS OVER.

These arrested persons are mostly innocent and peaceful citizens or students who happened to be at the scene or among the crowd. Some were arrested on the way home from bath houses or on the way home from their business. Wild policemen caused the riot, and now they are arresting some more and will go further. Courts are busily engaged in making criminals.

The democratic movement was taken

up by Osaka and other cities and towns. At Osaka some 100 persons were arrested as the result of the fight with the policemen.

The opposition parties are demanding a party government, but it is doubtful whether they can succeed. Within a few days it will be decided. Anyway, stubborn Prince Katsura has given up his clutches on the Ministry at last. A good sign for a popular victory!

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Socialist Theory and Tactics

By Charles A. Rice

Effects of Pure-and-Simplism in Germany

Part IV—Continued

c. General education and culture.

WE will touch only briefly upon what the *fringe* of the Social Democracy has done and still does for raising the level of general culture of the German workers and for fostering, refining and satisfying their art sense. Thus indirectly welding the bonds of class solidarity and the ethics of the proletariat. The Social Democracy has established numerous schools and classes for instruction in scientific branches. Its lecture courses surpass anything done outside of the German movement in point of quantity, thoroughness, systematic organization, and scope.

Biology and natural science rub elbows with economics, sociology, and philosophy. History and literature get no small share of attention. The teaching staffs and lecturers are highly competent. There are music schools, art exhibits, and facilities for bringing the best of the social drama within easy reach of wage-workers. The Social Democracy has its own poets and composers. Vocal and instrumental music is well cared for in the service of the proletariat and its historic mission. All these activities help still more to raise the general intellectual level and broaden the outlook of the worker, refine his sensibility and his art sense, and thus keep him from sinking to the low layers of the submerged or from becoming the gullible and flobby prey that snaps at the bait hooked for *our* workers both sides of the Atlantic.

To sum up the above lights at the plus end will give a tolerably complete idea of what the Social Democracy, both the *core* and the *fringe*, has done for the German proletariat in point of education and political organization, as well as in developing to a very high pitch their class vision, solidarity, and discipline, their capacity for close thinking in economics, politics and philosophy, and their appreciation of good art in connection with the aspirations of the prole-

tariat of the world along the lines of its historic mission. This is a service that can hardly be overstated and its value cannot be too highly rated.

Its effects are felt far beyond the bounds of Germany, and the proletariat the world over has largely benefited by its example and inspiration. We all profit more or less by the wealth of experience the Social Democracy has stored up and worked over for the common use of the international Socialist movement. The stimulus our German comrades have sent abroad is priceless. We feel proud of them and their efforts, since their achievements in the above directions point to what the proletariat can accomplish unaided and what unprobed mines of creative energy and organizing genius the working class may have at its command in its own initiative and for its own final emancipation.

But . . .

2. THERE ARE DARK PATCHES AT THE MINUS END.

First of all, we cannot too strongly insist that what follows is in no way to be taken as a slur upon the German Social Democracy, or as an attempt to belittle its work. The revolutionary minority of the Socialist movement feels very strongly the enormous service our German comrades have rendered the cause of the proletariat as a whole. Besides, the left wing is too much engrossed with the very grave issues confronting that cause to be in a mood or have any time for toying with petty, carping criticism. We of the minority are groping for new light to help us in coping with very keen and pressing problems in Socialist tactics on which the future defeat or success of the movement may depend. To secure this light and find our true bearings, we must probe to the very bottom the rich store of experience covered by four decades of parliamentary Socialism. To profit by this probe, we must be in a position

to cast up a correct balance. Hence, the sheer force of logic and the gravity of the issues at stake compel us to weigh nicely but unsparingly, in a spirit of cool scientific impartiality and broad comradely tolerance, every *shade* as well as every light.

a. Effects of pure-and-simplism upon the labor movement in Germany.

1. Up to 1900.

The rapid growth of the labor movement in Germany dates from 1900. At the close of the nineteenth century, German industry began to expand and centralize more and more. The consolidation of banks and the development of financial capital contributed their lion's share in industrializing Germany. First the home market was conquered, eliminating wasteful competition and killing off small production. Then German capitalism entered the international market and made large inroads into the commercial sphere previously dominated by England.

The employers united into powerful organizations and began an aggressive campaign against organized labor. The gauntlet thrown by capitalism was taken up by the workers. They were compelled to organize more and more in order to hold their ground against the numerous lockouts and other forms of aggressive action, and persecution on the part of the capitalists forced many of the craft unions to combine into strong federations, such as the building trades, the metal workers, the mine workers, etc. The total membership of all the German trade unions of various types in 1910 was 2,688,144, or over 33 per cent of the total number of wage-workers in Germany. But, in spite of this economic pressure on one side and the strong dose of political class consciousness fostered in the workers by the pure-and-simplist *core* of the Social Democracy on the other, some 700,000 or about 25 per cent of the above membership are still "yellow," that is outside of and hostile to the economic class struggle. At best they are mere fraternal organizations for mutual relief and insurance, but to a very large extent they are simply organized strike-breakers in disguise, and are under the leadership of parsons and other church gentry; 80,000 of these "yellow" dupes were enough to defeat the recent strike in the Ruhr coal fields, when the German class-conscious miners

laid down their tools in sympathy with the general strike of the miners in England.

If the *fringe* has had any share in fostering indirectly this rapid growth of the more or less federated type of craft union organization since 1900, it was due to the fact that the *core* has, for the last ten years, somewhat receded from its original stiff pure-and-simplist position with regard to the importance of economic organization and action of the working class. But up to the close of the last century the case was entirely different.

In 1898*, there were 700,000 organized workers in all the German trade unions. About 29 per cent of these belonged to the Patriotic Miners' Union, the Christian Union Federation, the Hirsch-Dunker Federation, the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and Independent Unions. This aggregation of benighted dupes and "yellows" led by priests and bourgeois labor baiters, may be entirely disregarded, as it was essentially an organized scabbery of the worst bourgeois and pulpit dye horded together for fighting the Social Democracy and Socialism. So that, during the period of 1880-1898, the number of German wage-workers organized in bona fide trade unions under Social-Democratic leadership and inspiration did not rise beyond the very modest figure of 500,000. The figures for the United States and France for the same period were 1,000,000 and 419,761, respectively.

Just think of it! The workers of Yankeeland, without a Social-Democratic movement, without a Socialist press, without political or any class-consciousness, scattered over a territory many times the size of Germany, and a motley of different races, nationalities and languages, could muster in the army of bona fide organized labor twice as many workers as were found in Social-Democratic Germany! Again, the population of France in 1898 hardly exceeded 60 per cent of the German population, and yet the membership in the French trade unions was almost 84 per cent of the same membership in Germany.

To get a clear grasp of what the figures for Germany mean, we must take into account a number of factors that ought to have been a powerful stimulus for the eco-

*See Werner Sombart's article in the "Neue Deutsche Rundschau," April, 1900, pp. 340 and 356.

economic organization of the German wage-workers even up to 1900. About 1895 German capitalism entered already its modern advanced stage, as we shall see further in quoting Bebel's statement at the Cologne Convention of 1893. It was already strong enough and aggressive enough, far more so than in France. French capitalism is even now predominantly financial and mostly invested abroad. At the period in question France was and still is essentially a country of dwarfish farmers squatting on their land-patches averaging $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres each; its industry at that time was in its infancy, viewed in the light of the German industry. And so the French wage-workers were far less in number* than the total of German wage-workers, while the economic pressure necessary for stimulating labor organization on a large scale was by far less intense than was the case in Germany. This country was at that period already to a large extent industrialized and its farming folk were beginning to flock to the cities and swell the ranks of the city proletariat. In short, German capitalism had by that time done its level best to goad the wage-workers into rapid economic organization on a class-wide scale, and if this was not the case, it was not the fault of German capitalism.

Again, the German workers, far more than the wage-slaves of any other country with a rapidly developing industry outside of France, were essentially *one race* and spoke practically *one language*. They had the same standard and mode of life, the same economic and social needs. They did not differ among themselves in habits or manners, and were cast in the same psychological mould, that is their grade of intelligence and education, their habits of thinking and feeling were more or less uniform or "Germanic," if you like, and far more so than ever was the case among the workers of any other country under the sway of modern capitalism. This factor of uniformity in the mental and moral make-up and the mode of life is highly important in smoothing away all kinds of friction and toning down all contrasts that are always detrimental and very often disastrous to efficient and speedy economic organization of the workers.

Besides, the sphere of operation of the German trade union pioneers, that is the

extent of territory they would have had to reach and conquer for economic organization, was far smaller and incomparably more uniform throughout in geographical, climatic and other material conditions than is the case, say, in the United States or Russia. One has only to realize what enormous difficulties the movement in Russia, both political and economic, had to overcome in dealing with great masses of workers and peasants scattered over the vast territory of European and Asiatic Russia, one-sixth of the globe, with its great diversity in point of climate and other natural conditions, its impassable roads, its primitive means of communication, in order to get some idea of what the Russian proletariat had accomplished up to 1905 in the way of economic and political organization, in marshaling its forces for that glorious general strike that shook the foundations of the empire!

We leave out of account the great diversity in race and language, illiteracy and low grade of intelligence of millions of Russian proletaires, their habits of submission and fear bred by the age-long rule of a bloody Czaristic autocracy, a ferocious medieval nobility, and the crushing weight of dark superstition under the sway of the huge monster called the Orthodox Church. Nor do we refer here to the fierce persecution on the part of the Russian government up to 1905, with its drastic laws, its bloody deeds, its brutal ferocity directed against the class-conscious vanguard of the Russian working class and the revolutionary intellectuals. We have here in mind only the vast extent of territory with its inevitable diversity of geographical and other material conditions that our Russian comrades had to cope with. And yet *they accomplished within less than ten years* what our German workers, under the spur of pure-and-simplism *had not accomplished in 20 years!* The first had organized almost a million workers successfully enough as to carry out a most stupendous general strike with its tremendous political success. That this glorious work has since been undone by all the fury of the subsequent waves of implacable reaction, is another matter that has no bearing on the point in question. In point of limited territory with its inevitable advantages our German comrades had the start in the race for economic organization

*The exact figures are hard to get.

as compared with either the United States or Russia.

Moreover, the workers in Germany at that period knew nothing of the curse of *immigration*, nor do they feel it even now; they were not handicapped in the race by the presence of imported hordes of unorganized alien proletaires with a lower standard of life. They had no "padrone" system and no peonage to deal with. There were none of the conditions to glut the labor market to create and swell a reserve army of unemployed. On the contrary, the labor market in Germany was then continually thinning and shrinking because thousands upon thousands of German workers and peasants *emigrated* to the United States and other parts of the world.

True, there was the Anti-Socialist Law that for twelve years (1877-1889) hounded the social-democratic movement. There was all the various anti-strike and other hostile legislation directed against the trade-unions and for the "protection" of strike-breakers and thugs in the service of employers. There were the numerous regulations for limiting the rights of coalition, assembly, free speech and press, and other forms of united action on the part of social-democratic workers. All the tools of feudalism and capitalism, from the vandalic judges and bureaucrats down to the sabre of the gendarme and the police club, no doubt, did their bloody share in checking effective organization of the workers or nipping in the bud any attempt at class revolt. No one will underestimate these great drawbacks; they hampered the work of economic organization to no small extent. But we must guard against the opposite error of overrating their total effect on the labor movement.

There are a number of weighty reasons against the assumption that the above legislative checks and police persecution were solely or even principally responsible for the snail-pace growth of the labor movement in Germany up to 1900. In the first place, all the shafts and the fury of this repression were mainly directed against the *political* end of the movement; the sole object was to root out the Social Democracy as a political factor making for revolution or, in the jargon of red tape, "subversion." Again, in spite of this merciless 12-year crusade or, rather, thanks to it, the Social

Democracy emerged triumphant, and in the teeth of all this war the political movement marched from victory to victory, gained one parliamentary mandate after another.

Right in the heart of the enemy's camp, under its very cannon, the membership of the party, the Socialist vote, and all the other resources and assets of the movement grew by leaps and bounds. The power and fighting mettle, the grim energy on the political battle-ground, rose higher and higher like a mighty tide, ready to engulf and wipe out the capitalist regime. Why, then, did the economic movement lag so far behind? Why was it so puny in proportions? Instead of retarding the above persecution ought to have spurred on labor organization to a far brisker pace and to much greater dimensions, as was the case with the political end of the movement. The very fact that by 1900 there were 500,000 class-conscious workers organized in the Social-Democratic Unions shows that it was possible to organize the workers economically and on a class-conscious basis at that even under this persecution and hostile legislation.

Besides, the German workers were not, nor are they even now, the only wage-slaves that had to organize in the face of persecution. Neither the French, nor the American workers marched over a bed of roses amid the cheers of the politician, the judge, and the police club. They had their trials in fighting down hostile legislation, court injunctions, confiscation of strike funds, imprisonment, bull pens and the bullets of hired thugs and gunmen whether armed by the state or in the pay of the employers themselves. In spite of this, the membership in the American trade unions rose to a million, and even the French workers in view of their very small number in comparison with the total of wage-workers in Germany, accomplished far more than did the latter in the field of economic organization. But what the German workers had to suffer in the above sense pales into utter insignificance or comes down to a mild diversion and excitement due to strong muscular effort when compared to what *the proletariat of Russia* had to stand.

The Russian workers successfully organized amid wholesale butchery when their

ranks were drowned in seas of blood. So that, according to the rate of growth as shown by the trade union movement up to 1900, the number of organized workers in Russia before and after 1905 and Bloody Sunday ought to have reached not +500,000 but -500,000, that is it ought to be what is known in algebra as a *negative quantity*, or something *away down below zero*, below the *freezing* point, or, in other words, economic organization or the desire and effort for such organization among the Russian workers ought to have been one *big iceberg!*

No, the main reason for this phenomenally slow growth of the labor movement in Germany during the two decades of the last century was the blighting effect of the pure-and-simplist core of the Social Democracy. In the first place, these 500,000 organized workers were *more political social democrats* than *bona fide trade-unionists*. The union, when organized, was then simply a tail-end of the party, subsidiary to it, and had no independent existence and character of its own. When the pioneer social democrats went to work as organizers, they came to the unorganized wage-slaves not as wage-workers themselves, but primarily as *Social Democrats*, members of the party, and their appeal was more political than economic. Within the unions themselves there were constant squabbles and bickerings over party allegiance; Social Democrats were at daggers drawn with Hirsh-Dunkerites, free thinkers and meek lambs of the various churches were on terms of deadly combat. These feuds and fierce animosity were in themselves enough to retard the growth of economic class solidarity and cohesion and to hurl the economic movement twenty years backwards.

No trade-union movement at its inception can stand such disastrous conditions that corrode its very substance. It is quite conceivable why the mass of unorganized workers held aloof from the movement, in fact, were afraid of it and gave it a wide berth. This was especially the case in central and southern Germany, with its smaller industry, the predominance of the farming country over the city, where the workers were completely in the lap of Mother Church. But the north with its large industrial and commercial centers and its growing proletariat suffered almost as

much or even more in this sense, since, if not for those dissensions and political friction, the possibilities for economic organization, for all the reasons outlined above, could have been far greater than in the south.

Moreover, in so far as the Social Democracy was and still is dominated by the pure-and-simplist core with its overstress of parliamentary action and its total absorption in the political game, it acted as a *positive* drag upon the economic movement of the workers, retarded, hampered and killed any faint tendency for efficient class organization at the point of production. The workers were told and preached to again and again that all their efforts at that point were mere temporary make-shifts for bridging over the time of stress and strain prior to the great feat that was to be accomplished by the Social Democracy in transforming capitalism into socialism.

The pure-and-simplist doctors were always on the spot with their nostrum. The wage-workers had it constantly drummed, shouted, thundered and hammered into their ears and brains from the platform, the soap box and the party press. True, leaders of the party would often *advise* party members or even "insist" in a perfunctory manner to join their respective trade unions. We know this sort of advice and its potent effects in our own party. We treat it generally as a bit of innocent humor. We put all such mild resolutions and good intentions "on file," we "table" them and "take up the next order of business." Frequently such pious advice has the mental reservation of "boring from within." The German pure-and-simplist didn't have to do any "boring" either "within" or "without"; pure-and-simplism was the "*within*" itself.

And so the preachment of "joining" one's respective craft union was mere decorative garnish on the cake. The real spicy substance of the pastry ran somewhat as follows: - "You, wage-slaving fellows, will do well to organize in craft unions, provided they are under the label of the Social Democracy. You may have some small scraps with your employers; if you're lucky, and your coin chest is "flush" you may force your wage a rung or two up the scale, provided it doesn't slip a few rounds lower in increased prices when you come to buy back

your own work. You may further do some skirmishing in an effort to trim down a trifle the length of your workday or get some slight improvement in the conditions of your shop work. If you have some time left, you may try some co-operative shopping and scrape together a few pennies each good for a rainy day or in time of a strike and lockout. That's about all you can accomplish. You mustn't dream of hunting for any bigger game on your own hook at the point of production.

You *can never organize into a class union*.* You can not expect that your economic organization will ever reach a stage and be of a type powerful and efficient enough to reach out for any bigger portion of the loaf or the whole loaf. *This part* of the work will be *ours*, the work of your political party. You cannot get an 8-hour work-day except through parliament. Abolition of child labor and woman's labor; to secure sanitation and hygiene in the shop and safety to life and limb; thorough and efficient inspection of factories and mines; a minimum wage; doing away with unemployment, militarism and other economic and political evils—all this business will be attended to by us, parliamentarians, judges, city mayors, lawyers and what not. The universal franchise for both sexes, a democratically organized militia, universal education, efficient and free, *we* will get for you, if you only vote for us.

You needn't budge an inch to secure proportional representation, initiative and recall. That's *our special line*, and no mass action or general strikes are necessary for the purpose.

All these and many other economic and political boons are in our medicine chest. You just wait patiently like the good boys that you are and make no economic fuss until we can get the *majority* patent key when the lid of that chest will spring open as if by magic. Nor do you need to bother about getting some control of the shop right now in the foolish hope of getting some solid schooling in the art of running society's business in the future. Don't rack your brains either about getting in good trim at the shop so as to be ready and not to be caught napping and disorganized

when the time comes for taking over the tools and means of production and distribution. *We* will do the taking over of these things in your name and we'll run them as best we can, training or no training on your part. You'll work for the Socialist state, don't you see the point?

You'll be sure of your job and get a good wage and so what else do you want? All that talk about the "proletariat getting prepared for taking possession of the means of production and distribution," "getting the necessary training in industrial management for efficient production" "and the necessity of beginning right now this work of getting prepared and trained for the real, actual control of industry on the part of the proletariat itself"—all this is "undiluted anarchistic bosh or syndicalistic rot." Drop it. Vote the ticket and attend as best you can to your puny or bulky craft unions. They may help you to pick up some "grub," some crumbs from the capitalist board. The rest is *our* work."

This was the attitude of pure-and-simplism and especially its view on the relative unimportance of economic organization and what it can accomplish for the proletariat as compared with parliamentary action. This attitude was especially pronounced up to and some time after 1900. It is outlined in sharp detail in the Erfurt Program of 1891, and developed in Kautsky's exposition and elucidation quoted above. In 1904, Kautsky stated, in the introduction to fifth edition of the same work, that the above program remained in force in all essential particulars an accurate statement of the principles of the German Social Democracy. We find it again in the eighth edition of the same work, in which there is not a single word as to what the proletariat organized at the point of production may do or accomplish beyond craft union effort for higher wages and shorter hours independently of parliamentary action.

But the gist of this whole attitude of the Social Democracy in the question of economic action we find boiled down in the terse and classic statement made by August Bebel at the Cologne Parteitag (Convention) of 1893, in which he sounded the death knell of the trade unions. "We may organize,"—he said—"as much as we want, but when Capital has once conquered such power as did the Krupps and Stum, in the

*See Kautsky's "Grundsätze und Forderungen der Sozialdemokratie, Erläuterungen zum Erfurter Programm," 1904, pp. 20-21.

Dortmund Combine, in the districts of the coal and the iron industry of Rhineland and Westphalia, the trade unions will be down and out and the only solution left will be in the political struggle."**

This was the doctrine of the all-sufficiency of parliamentary action as the sole or principal mechanism for accomplishing what economic organization of whatever type and stage could not presumably accomplish. The leaders of the Social Democracy could not have then even the remotest inkling, not the faintest suspicion of the marvellous possibilities for economic organization of the workers on a *class scale* with real economic power and effort along the lines of securing ever greater and greater control of industry. And so they laid enormous over-stress upon parliament-

*See "The Class Struggle," based on the 8th German edition of the "Erfurt Program," pp. 177-189.

**Cited by Kloth in the "Neue Zeit," Oct. 25, 1912.

ary action and undervalued economic action to a disastrous extent. The more advanced section of the workers imbibed this narcotic too long and the dose was too strong for it not to affect their energy for economic organization.

Bismark's sop of state insurance on one side and pure-and-simplism on the other contrived to make them luke-warm and flabby in their trade-union activity. Content with the flesh pot served them by the Bismarkian regime in the form of old-age pensions and various forms of insurance and relying for any further boons on the efforts of their parliamentary delegation, they naturally neglected real constructive effort at the point of production and the result was the poorest showing they could make in the field of labor organization on a wide scale.

Pure-and-simplism up to 1900 proved a wet blanket upon effective consolidation of the workers at the real battle ground,—at the point of production.

Liberty or the Penitentiary?

By

J. S. Biscay

A Plot to Railroad Innocent Strikers of Little Falls Now on Trial

THE workers of Little Falls on trial before the Herkimer county court, were indicted under false testimony before the grand jury. Now the mill owners expect to finish the work by "landing" them in the penitentiary. The attitude of the citizens makes this attempt possible. According to the capitalist press, the jury will be composed of Anglo-Saxons whose prejudice against the "foreigners" is counted upon to convict.

Many hereabouts, blinded by prejudice, have forgotten that this county was named after a valiant foreigner and that von Steuben, who fought in the revolution, came from the same land which gave birth to Hirsh; that D'Estang and Lafayette were of the same race from which Legere springs; that Kosciusko and Pulawski, who died in the revolution, were Poles like Lesnicki, now on trial; or that

the Italian boys are descendants of a people who produced Michael Angelo, Raphael, Columbus, Mazzini, Cavour, Marconi—not to mention a civilization and grandeur which influences the world even from its tomb. The citizens here overlook the fact that some of the proud Anglo-Saxons were Tories in the revolution and that the mill owners need Tories today. They only remember that some of the strikers cannot use the native language fluently; this is enough to consider them guilty. Their petty prejudice will be satisfied, as well as the desire of the mill owners.

On the side of the mill owners stands Farrell, a rubber-spined prosecuting attorney—a boy in experience and knowledge—easy to handle. The real work of "landing" the strikers behind the bars is entrusted to the notorious ex-Senator A. M. Mills, who did not deny that he rep-



I. W. W. RELIEF STATION AT LITTLE FALLS, N. Y.

resents the mill owners, when Fred H. Moore accused him in court. Ex-Prosecuting Attorney Greene has been provided to assist Mills. He is an under-sized, dried-up fellow with a voice that needs greasing.

On the side of the strikers is Fred H. Moore, who needs no introduction, assisted by Attorneys Cooper, Barry and Hurley.

Judge Bell, who umpires the game of "land 'em quick," pretends to be fair, but so far has given the mill owners every advantage. We can already see which way the "game" will go if the judge has anything to say.

Back of "justice" stands a long array of Humphrey detectives with guns, bloody billies and clubs—not to mention handy whiskey to make them more vicious—ready to swear to "doped up" evidence in the interest of the mill owners. Hold on! We must not forget Chief Long of Little Falls, ex-strikebreaker, alias "Dusty"—a name given him while he was a son of the "rods" and "back-door hand-outs." He is really a wonderful creature, inasmuch as he seems to be able to exist

without any manifestation of brains. It has been hinted that his gray matter shifted to the lower end of the spine in jumping to the beck of the bosses. This creature was eulogized by Mills as a model officer. No doubt he is. His chief attributes are threatening hysterical women with a revolver, intimidating our witnesses, slugging, maiming and generally deporting himself like a cowardly thug in the dark—except that he takes the precaution to handcuff his victims before beating them up.

The plots pulled off to crush the starving strikers were so vile that even some of the detectives were disgusted. These turned against the mill owners and exposed the "game." The disclosures of Officers Reed and Kenny woke up the slumbering community, but did little to affect the plans of the prosecution, except to make more careful preparations to carry out the "work." Though affidavits were submitted in court, sworn to by the officers named and others, showing that the strikers were indicted on perjured evidence; the judge refused to allow the defense to examine the records

of the grand jury under the plea that it would not help the "people's case" to give such facts to the defense. He is right. The "people" in the "case" are the mill-owners. When the defense made a demurrer demanding that specific charges be made against each prisoner so that each could be defended accordingly, the judge again refused.

The prosecution cleverly announced the abandoning of the "assault" charges. This seemed to satisfy the public as to the fairness of the trial. It was only a trick. The assault charges could not be proven even with false testimony, while trial on "rioting" makes it easy to turn the "job." According to the penal code of this state, a riot is:

"Whenever three or more persons, having assembled for any purpose, disturb the public peace, by using force or violence to any other person, or to property, or threaten or attempt to commit such disturbance, or to do an unlawful act by the use of force or violence, accompanied with the power of immediate execution of such threat or attempt, they are guilty of riot."

Under the above law a riot might be a funeral or a crap game, especially if "Dusty" happened round. The crime is punishable by a term in the penitentiary and a fine, i. e., if the victim has the "dough" to make it worth while.

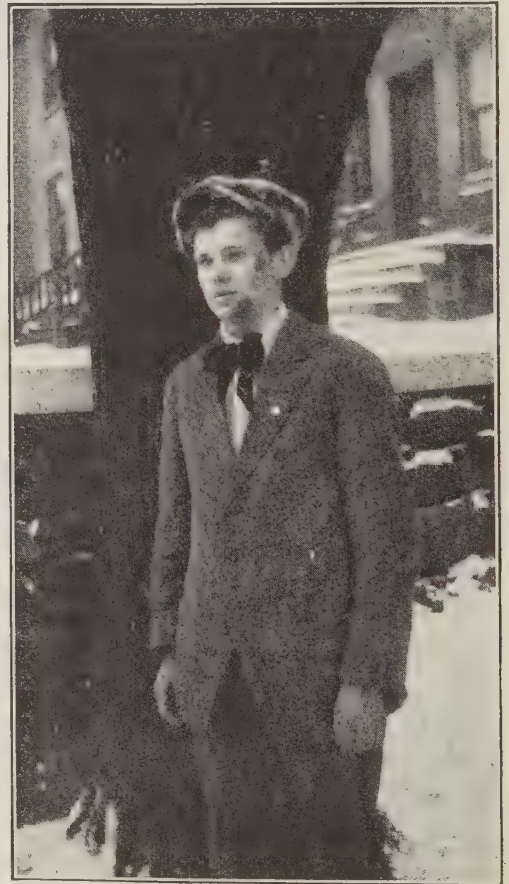
The methods of "justice" in this community might lead a person to think that the stone age is a prophecy. Some of the intelligent citizens here thought that they were still voting for Lincoln in the last election.

The affidavit of Special Officer J. T. Reed states that he wore a uniform, carried a badge, club and gun for a month before being appointed as officer. He was appointed by the sheriff contrary to the state law, which provides that officers must be residents of the county wherein they serve. The same is true of practically every Humphrey detective. Both Reed and Kenny swear that they saw no violence from the side of the strikers, and that Long staged the "riot" the night before, remarking that "he would take the law in his own hands;" he certainly did. Both officers testify that Long lured workers singly into the Phoenix mill, handcuffed them and beat them with clubs, the rest of the "upholders of the law" nobly assisting, until the mass of

clotted blood had to be wiped from the floor to keep the thugs from slipping. Some of the victims were unconscious when loaded on and off the patrol and had to be carried. Afterwards several of the prisoners, like Bocchini, were beaten up again in the jail.

Reed further asserts that he saw Long draw up the instructions to the police how to testify against the strikers before the grand jury. They were told to "learn it." Kenny followed his instructions, perjuring himself, while Reed told the truth and lost his job as a consequence. Both officers swear that the copy of instructions photographed by the defense was one given out by Long.

Officer Kenny makes a clean breast of his perjury. He acted upon the advice of his priest, to whom he confessed what he had done. He has announced that he is ready to go to the "pen" rather than see the innocent workers railroaded



VICTIM OF POLICE BRUTALITY.

Those are the list of rioters that fought the Police Officers at the Phoenix Mill at the corner of South Ann & Mill Street on the morning of Oct. 30th. 1912

Benjamin J. Leggere. who lead the Parade. and out Officer John Kenny

Phillipo Boccini.(Italian) who had the revolver in in his hand and shot special Police Officer Michael Haley. Boccini lead the parade.

Antonio Mottio.(Italian) who has threatened to blow up the Phoenix Mill and had been on picket duty and fought Chief Long. Officers Kenney and Haley with clubs and stones.

Tony Caprona.(Italian) who has threatend to shoot Chief Long. and blow up the Phoenix Mill and fought with Chief Long. Officers Kenney & Haley with clubs and stones.

Pasquale Cinffi.(Italian) who fought the Chief Officers Kenney & Haley and assaulted the officers with there fists clubs & stones.

Giovanni Pigliotto.(Italian who carried the big red flag and was one of the leaders of the parade and fought the officers with stones at the Phoenix Mill at the corner of South Ann & Mill Street Oct. 30th. 1912

Frederic Hirsh. of Schenactady. N.Y. who was in the parade and kept on hallowing to the people to get in line and not be scabs and to fight any man that molest our parade.

Antonio Preta.(Italian) who was at the corner of South Ann & Mill Street and fought the officers with clubs and stones on the morning Oct. 30th. 1912

Guisenpi Cordiski.(Italian) who was in the parade and fought the Officer s. with sticks and stones on the morning of Oct. 30th. 1912

Salvatori Licari.(Italian) who was doing picket duty and in the parade and fought with his fist with Michael Haley. Oct. 30th. 1912

Domineco Macrino.(Italian) who was in the parade and doing picket duty and fighting with the Police officers at South Ann & Mill St Oct. 30th.

Petro Antonio Cornacchio Italian who was doing picket duty and fighting the Police Officers at South Ann & Mill Street Oct. 30th. 1912.

Goivanni Manti- Giuseppe Cioreto- Emilio Wardocci- who was fighting the Police officers with sticks and stones and had assaulted Chief Long Officers Kenney & Haley with clubs at South Ann & Mill St Oct. 30th. 1912

~~Emilio~~ Orosio Morlando (Italian) who was the first man that struck Chief Long over the head with a club at the Phoenix Mill doorway at the corner of South Ann Mill St Oct. 30th. 1912.

John Fultani- Carlo Fiorillo- Rocco Floreno- Modesto De Rossi- who had fought the officers with sticks and clubs and assaulted them when trying to quite the disturbers when they assaulted Chief Long. Officers Kenney and Haley at the corner of South Ann & Mill street. Oct. 30th. 1912

Robert A. Bakman. One of the leaders who was in the parade and advising the parade strikers to not give into the officers to fight there way through and hallowing to them to keep it up on South Ann & Mill Street corner on the morning Oct. 30th. 1912.

Samuel Myton.(Slav) who assaulted Chief Long & Officer Dundon with stone s. near the Slavish Hall on German street Oct. 30th. 1912

John Losko.(Slav) who assaulted Officer P.P. De Laughlin with a stone in the head near the Slavish Hall on the morning of Oct. 30th. 1912.

Martin Misk- John Hasker- John Strotk- Steve Roncamb- Paul Manicosky- Steve Iacovick- ~~John Misk~~ fought Obvical Slavish Hall



MOTHER AND CHILD "HELD" TEN DAYS IN JAIL.
NOW CHARGED WITH ASSAULT IN THE
FIRST DEGREE—\$1,000 BAIL.

through his perjury. Since his confession Kenny is much hated by the "gang," who whisper that they will "get" him for "squealing."

The affidavits disclose that specials held up people in public places at the point of guns and searched them without warrant, broke into homes of strikers in the dead of night and spit into food left on the stove by a fleeing woman. But why go into more details?

The whole proposition shows a raw-plot to wreak vengeance on some of the workers for daring to strike for a chance to live. If any of the strikers are "rail-roaded" it will be only because of the little attention given the trial by the rest of the workers. There have been little funds to work with, and but scanty expression of disapproval from those who should move heaven and earth in the defense. The different strikes at the same

time only tend to cover the plots laid here against the working class. The announcement that *we are not going to stop with a mere acquittal*, but will prosecute the tools of the mill owners and the masters themselves, if possible, has made the enemy more determined to teach labor a lesson for all time.

The sentiment of the community is ably expressed by a venerable citizen. "You are up against a hard proposition," he said. "No matter what kind of jury is drawn, the chances are against the prisoners. They don't need to "fix" the jury; the prejudice of the Americans is depended upon to do the work, and it looks like it will."

Is it a wonder that workers are beginning to show a contempt for this form of "justice"? The time is ripe for the working class to take the offensive. Merely defending our own is not enough. We wish to put the courts on record as either upholding violence of thugs and sluggers, or to punish them under the same law which is vigorously applied against us. In either event we gain; but we must have the backing of the working class to do this in this country. We must have *you* on the outside show that you are with us in this struggle and not be silent clams to the satisfaction of the mill owners. It is up to you to do your share and you can depend upon us here to exert every ounce of energy to put stripes on those who should wear them instead of our innocent fellow workers.

Too long we have turned a deaf ear to the wail of misery of the hunger-bred slaves; to the cry of despair of our wives, sisters and daughters, who are being crowded onto the streets to sell their bodies while we have shamefully and cowardly acquiesced. Too long have we ignored the plaintive cry of our babies fastened to the machine, where their very bones are ground into dollars and cents—while we pride ourselves in our humanity towards the colt which gambols care free on the green pastures. The time has come when *YOU* and I, as men and women, must reach out and drag humanity out of the vile cess-pool of a castrate civilization. It is about time for us all to begin to act or forever skulk like curs up a dark alley, forgetting that we have the forms of human beings.

Shall the Socialist Party Govern Itself?

By William English Walling

THE most influential Socialist writer who uses the English language, Robert Blatchford, has just written a series of articles in which he points out the chief problem that every Socialist party has to solve: How shall the "mandarins," the bureaucracy, the professional *party* officeholders, and the professional *public* officeholders be controlled? Blatchford shows that the chief thing is that the rank and file must take an active interest in party affairs, but he also suggests changes in party constitutions. For example, he favors the measure advocated by America's biggest Socialist, Eugene V. Debs,—that Socialist functionaries should not be eligible for re-election. Unquestionably this would be a good beginning, but this is the most colossal question that Socialists have to face and no one measure will be able to solve it.

Ever since the present Socialist party was founded the party officeholders have been spending the larger part of their energies in endeavoring to hold their jobs and to fight down every element in the party that demanded any improvement or advance in any direction. However, the rank and file have not been devoted or servile followers of any of these would-be perpetual officeholders, and their tenure, though often too long continued, has never been entirely secure. A far greater danger is the new one, that has become serious only since we entered into the present period of political successes two years ago, namely, the corruption of the party by those elected to public office.

The experience of the Socialist Party proves the truth of Walt Whitman's line

describing "the never-ending audacity of elected persons." The very first important city captured by Socialists since the present party was founded, Brockton, Mass., witnessed a wholesale desertion of members elected by Socialists to office as soon as these officeholders found that the party was unwilling to make the deals necessary to re-elect them. Only last year we had several mayors in the one state of Ohio either being forced to resign or deserting the party because they could not use it for their purposes. And recently we have had by far the most virulent cases of this effort of officeholders to tyrannize over the party—the refusal of Stitt Wilson and others to sign the undated resignation from office—which has been the proudest boast of the Socialist party and the plea on which we have secured a large part of our members. (This custom was formerly mentioned in the N. E. C. pamphlet entitled, "Why Socialists Pay Dues?" but has now been omitted—we wonder why?)

The defense offered by Local Berkeley, which in the instance mentioned stood by its "leader," was even more impudent and dangerous than the act itself. For they said that since the people of Berkeley had a right to recall the mayor there was no reason why the Socialist party should claim the same right!

This question is not only one of the most important but one of the most pressing. Next year we may elect a few congressmen and half a hundred legislators—if the reactionaries in the party will cease their underhanded efforts to disrupt the organization and to drive out the revolutionists (for, as I have shown in the *New Review*,

it is where the organization is most revolutionary that the vote has most rapidly increased, whereas it has gone back in all the reactionary strongholds—like Wisconsin). If, then, these officeholders continue to show the tendency towards bossism so common in the past, the Socialist party will soon become an officeholders' machine little different in character from the machine by which Gompers controls the Federation of Labor or Murphy Tammany Hall.

The question is pressing; every day something is happening to illustrate its immediate importance. First, we have the refusal of a councilman in Reading to favor the Socialist measures brought by another Socialist councilman before the council and approved by the advisory committee of the party, and then we have a Socialist mayor quoted as saying that he must follow the light of his own conscience in his actions and not that of the Socialist party because the Socialists were only a small part of the people he represented. (The same principle, it may be seen, used by Stitt Wilson.)

We have come to a parting of the ways. There are at present just two forms of political organization in the United States, and we have to make our choice. The first form is that *towards* which the Socialist party has hitherto worked. Even in its imperfect condition it is so successful that the Progressives are beginning to imitate it. The other form is that of the old political parties, somewhat improved but at the same time made more rigid than ever by the new State Primary Laws. According to this bourgeois idea, every party is organized under leaders and these leaders are practically chosen by the bourgeois press—the whole mass of the voters having an occasional right, in the primaries, to pick among the "leaders" the press has brought forward. These leaders are nearly always officeholders when the party is in power and the chief officeholder is appointed by the bourgeois press to be the leader of the party. When the primary election comes around any irresponsible person who is willing to register in the party can come forward and determine who the party's candidates and leaders are going to be. Even the party platform, according to bourgeois arrangements, has to be declared by any voters who may volunteer themselves ready for that purpose.

This is the method that is being forced upon the Socialist party by the bourgeoisie and is openly advocated by bourgeois members inside of the party. Contrast this with the Socialist plan of organization. The candidates we formerly preferred were not those who were most praised by the bourgeois press but those who were most attacked. We have not allowed our party to pass into the hands of persons who had just joined it for exploiting it, but have usually required a period of from one to five years of probation and of service to the party before any man can become a candidate—a requirement that is becoming more popular than ever in some states, I am glad to say.

Candidates when elected by the Socialist party *have been supposed to represent the party first and the government afterwards*. Indeed, this effort to form a state within a state is the very sum and substance of the Socialist party tactics in Germany and all the older countries. If Socialism does not mean loyalty to the Socialist party first and all the time, then it means absolutely nothing.

Only recently, after a lengthy discussion, one of the leading opportunists of Germany was expelled from the party for unwillingness to be bound by the party in questions of tactics—matters of theory being of secondary moment—while in Italy the party got rid of half its members of Parliament for the same reason. We all know of the endless betrayal of the party by its members in France because the organization there, under the domination of Jaurès, has refused, until it was too late, to expel officeholding members who have used the party for their own purposes. Not less than four ministers of France have elevated themselves to high office at the expense of the Socialist party: Briand, Millerand, Viviani and Augagneur. This is why a large part of the revolutionary Industrial Unionists of that country have become anti-political Syndicalists. And the only way we can prevent the same result in America is by having a manly, self-respecting, and self-governing party.

As we have at present no member of Congress and no member of the legislature in our two leading states, New York and Pennsylvania, and no mayor in our largest cities, the present is the time to evolve ef-

fective means of control, such as now prevail among all the leading Socialist parties of the Continent of Europe. In Germany, Kautsky points out that a member of the Reichstag there "is not the delegate of his *election district* but as a matter of fact if not legally is the delegate of his *party*," and the French party has recently constituted a special national council, which is elected in large part directly by the local federations, and this council controls the members of Parliament. The control over administrative officials by the local federations is similarly complete.

The Socialist party is not a political party as ordinarily understood, but the political expression of the working class. It is reasonable that other parties, since they claim to represent the whole people *including the capitalists*, should be under the general control of all the voters. The Socialists do not represent the whole people but the working class, and they are willing to represent the whole people only when all other classes except the working class are abolished.

What, then are we to do practically?

First, all persons elected to public office must be responsible to some definite organ of the party.

Any future members of Congress, for example, should be responsible to the National Committee or to a special committee appointed by this body for the purpose.

Second, the signing of an undated resignation by every candidate should become a part of the party constitution.

Third, we must have proportional representation for election to all party offices, and we must secure it as soon as possible for elections to all public offices—that is, wherever it is applicable, namely, where there is more than one officeholder. In France, Germany and other countries even this requirement is overcome in the party by having several party secretaries.

Proportional representation was favored by the Belgian Socialists and is now in use in the election of the Belgian Parliament. It has been the leading issue in France for several years and is now about to be enacted in the law there—the Socialists leading always in the agitation. It is favored even by the conservative leaders of British Socialism like Philip Snowden, and our own reformers want it applied to the election of

congressmen. And, finally, it is endorsed by a very large part of the bourgeois radicals the world over, including many of our own progressive Democrats and Republicans.

The only possible way to avoid the split so openly and shamelessly advocated by some of the opportunist leaders of our party—Berger even threatened it in the last National Convention—is to have the system of proportional representation. The party has already applied it to the election of the delegates at the last convention at Copenhagen—and it worked with entire satisfaction.

Proportional representation can be applied whether the elections are direct or indirect. We should immediately have a Referendum applying to the coming election of the National Executive Committee by the National Committee the system of proportional representation. This would require no constitutional change, as the constitution merely provides for the election of the smaller committee by the larger. And no revolutionist can doubt that at least two of the five members elected in this way would be revolutionists (for there would be no unproved and untried charges circulated by the national office against any candidate). Similarly, if the revolutionists secure control of the National Committee the reformers would be protected by having two out of the five members of the N. E. C. Anybody opposing this reform, then, can do so only as a traitor to all the traditions of international Socialism and an opponent of democracy.

Fourth, all public officeholders should further recognize the sovereignty of the party by paying a regular graduated income tax. All those receiving only enough or less than enough for a comfortable living should be exempted from the tax; and as the party has calculated that every family should receive from \$2,000 to \$2,500 a year if wealth were equitably divided, the latter sum might be taken as a standard. Already the French party has applied a tax to their members of Parliament. These receive \$3,000 a year and are obliged to pay 20 per cent of it or \$600 to the party.

Let us institute a referendum by which all Socialists elected to offices paying from \$2,000 to \$3,000 shall pay a tax of 5 per cent; those receiving from \$3,000 to \$4,000

should pay a tax of 10 per cent; and so on according to the following scale:

\$2,000 to \$3,000,	5 per cent
3,000 to 4,000,	10 per cent
4,000 to 5,000,	15 per cent
5,000 to 6,000,	20 per cent
6,000 to 7,000,	25 per cent
7,000 to 8,000,	30 per cent
Etc.	

Not only will this be a just method of taxation, but it will ultimately bring in considerable sums to the party and will teach the officeholders and the general public exactly who is the master.

Just consider, for example, the position of a member of Congress. As far as I know there is no member of the present Socialist party who has an income that can be compared for a moment with that of a member of Congress. Besides his \$7,500 salary he receives traveling expenses which may amount to many hundred dollars, a free office, a free secretary, franking privileges and the privilege of the free printing of his speeches, which may amount to \$25,000 a year and more. It is especially the privileges of printing and the privilege of free franking that ought to belong wholly to the party. In view of this privilege the party ought to have a stricter control than in other countries over the speeches made by its members of Congress and it ought to have practically complete control over the mailing list. If we had half a dozen members of Congress this privilege alone could mean hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to the Party. If it were left in the hands of members of Congress, on the other hand, they could easily build up a machine of their own vastly more powerful than the Socialist Party.

Let it not be supposed that revolutionists who demand a rigid control of office holders are against the holding of public office. Those who hold offices in any private organization, whether the Socialist Party or Labor Unions, are almost as great a source of danger. Public office holders are not much more difficult to control and they are able to bring very important advantages to Socialism:

First, while the holding of public offices does not give us any real power owing to the fact that the higher offices are always in the hands of the enemy, such as the judges, the Governors, etc, they might be

very useful in times of revolution, when parts at least of the machinery of government could be directly turned over to the people and when the office holders would have an inside view of governmental affairs.

Second, some departments of our present government, such as the administration of schools, might be retained under Socialism. The practice and experience learned by the office holders in these departments will be valuable for our purposes when we begin to install Socialism, though the overwhelming majority of executive positions in the new society will be purely industrial and the training of these positions afforded by work in revolutionary labor unions will be far more useful than any that can be obtained by holders of public office.

Third, office holders may not only furnish a source of income to the Party, as well as a private income for worthy and capable members of the organization, but they may allow a certain portion of the public funds to be diverted into Socialist hands—though, of course the capitalists will always reduce this possibility to the minimum by legislation.

The fact, then, that Socialist office holders are not permitted to do anything in the slightest degree Socialistic as long as Capitalism lasts—unless they are ready to be immediately expelled from their offices (which, by the way, may occasionally happen, and should happen as frequently as possible)—this fact, I say, does not mean to say that we do not appreciate the considerable benefits of Socialists holding office. The only trouble is that we can never hold enough offices to make our office holding effective for installing any Socialistic changes in the present governmental and industrial system. To have the majority in a ward, is obviously of little value, but even a city or state majority will have been made equally ineffective by capitalist legislation or judicial decisions in the state or nation. Some measure of home rule prevails for bourgeois parties and for the Socialist party *as long as it confines itself to bourgeois activities*. But this home rule is immediately abolished as soon as Socialists try to use local offices for the purpose of enacting any Socialist measure, no matter how insignificant it may be.

An alternative measure of reforming our party organization has been proposed, but I contend that it is altogether inferior to the above. It has been pointed out that the Socialist organization in some states is along thoroughly democratic lines and that the party is in some instances in revolutionary hands, and it is therefore concluded that a large measure of the state autonomy is our last hope.

The real purpose of this proposition lies undoubtedly in the belief that state autonomy may occasionally afford some representation to minorities. But as this is the purpose the object can be infinitely better accomplished by direct means. Every committee in the party, whether national or state, ought to be elected according to the principle of proportional representation—which we already tried in the last election of members to the International Congress. This would secure not a chance representation of the revolutionary wing in one state and its complete annihilation in another, as an excess of state autonomy does, but a

reasonable representation in every state in the Union.

In other words, it is not political decentralization we aim at but industrial decentralization and real democracy, which includes the representation of minorities—and would be secured by the methods I have pointed out. The principle of geographical or state autonomy is opposed to the principle of industrial autonomy and minority representation, even though the motives of its promoters are the same as our own. Geographical representation, historically, is the expression of the need of small bourgeois land owners to protect their local interests; proletarians have no such local interests.

Unless some such changes as these are made within the next four years, it does not take a prophet to see that there would be nothing left of what we now know as the Socialist party. If we cannot control our own petty autocrats, how can we ever hope to control the infinitely more powerful and resourceful autocrats of the capitalist system?

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EDITORIAL

The White Flag Agreement Brigade.

There are a few politicians in the Socialist Party who are always bearing the white flag of truce to the capitalist class. Generally, these are professional office holders who compromise to hold the vote of the middle class. Sometimes they are office seekers who want to please everybody.

Again, they are trade union officials who tie up the workers with agreements that guarantee to the employers a period of industrial peace and docile slaves. These union officials and these politicians are always eager to settle the workers' affairs for them by arbitration or agreement, and the workers find that they have been bound, hand and foot, by their so-called friends; that they have no way left to fight against shop conditions that are always changing, except by violence and the ballot.

There are many who say the New York garment workers have been betrayed in this very way. They have been forced into trade DIVISIONS. Their officials, assisted by "Socialist" lawyers, tied them up with long-time agreements that have filled the bosses with extreme satisfaction. A group of strikers who saw through the danger to the workers, rushed into the office of the Jewish Forward, New York, and declared that they had been betrayed by the "Socialists" and union officials. The New York *Call* reports that they did much damage to the Forward office furniture.

During the long months of the Reign of Terror in West Virginia and the brave and bloody fight being waged by our miner comrades there, we have been holding our breath for the words of wisdom to come from the lips of the White Flag Agreement Brigade.

Why has the fluent stream of advice from Comrade Adolph Germer suddenly gone dry? Comrade Germer knows the class struggle and the bitter fight of the miners. Why is his pen, usually so pro-

lific in giving advice, suddenly stilled when it comes to telling these miners how to win their strike?

Money will not win this strike, Comrade Germer, and you know it. The coal barons can put up a thousand dollars to every cent the workers are able to raise. Money can be a great help, but it can never win a strike, alone.

This is no time to think of the truce the United Mine Workers' Association officials have signed with the class that is SHOOTING DOWN the West Virginia boys. We know the mine operators collect the dues from the miners that pay their salary. But this is a time when they must forget to keep peace with the exploiters of labor and take their stand with the rank and file.

They must come out and show the boys how to win without ANY MORE BLOODSHED! Or is this method the one they advocate and approve as well as make necessary, today?

The rank and file of the United Mine Workers have proved themselves ready to shoulder their rifles and to die, if need be, to show their solidarity with their struggling brothers in the Kanawha district.

What we want to know from you, Comrade Germer, and from the other pure-and-simplers in the Socialist Party, is—

IS IT NECESSARY that these brave men and women shall continue to shoulder guns, to fight and, perhaps, to die, in order to win this strike?

Why is the White Flag Brigade silent while our brothers and sisters are being killed or forced to kill to protect themselves?

How will YOU stop the flow of blood in West Virginia TODAY?

What do YOU advise these miners to do, RIGHT NOW, in order to stop this murderous warfare and win the strike? You are sending them money and we are sending them money to keep on fighting.

But you know, and we know, there is a better, a safer, a more effective way to fight—a way that spells Victory. Even the bravest band of miners cannot stand up forever against the machine guns of the capitalist class.

It is time the Socialist Party should consider this situation and take a stand upon it.

The White Flag Agreement Brigade has no message to the striking miners. And it is this White Flag group that has **TIED THE HANDS OF THE MINERS BY AGREEMENTS** with the **MINE OWNERS** so that the **ONLY WEAPON LEFT FOR THEM TO FIGHT WITH TODAY IS GUNS!**

Is it possible that Comrade Germer proposes to expel Mother Jones, John Brown and these men and women from the Socialist Party because they have bravely fought in the only way he and his kind have left them? Is it possible that he intends to join the capitalist jackals and help railroad our comrades to the penitentiary?

THE REVIEW and the Industrialists in the Party are with the striking miners to the bitter end of the fight. We are proud to lend our small efforts toward helping them to victory. We are going to help teach them the way to victory.

We want to help them out of the ambush the Agreement Brigade has forced them into.

The English coal miners brought the powerful English government to its knees through a general coal strike. All England was thrown into idleness because there was no COAL being dug by the miners to run trains and bring soldiers, or to turn any of the wheels of industry. So powerful did the strikers become that members of the House of Parliament called the strike committee "The Parliament on Tower Hill."

This is what the miners can do in West Virginia or all over the United States, if necessary. This is what they are ready to do. Already they voted to strip their treasury bare in Illinois to help with funds. But it is almost impossible for a small band of miners to win a strike while the boys in other mines are forced (by the union officials) to supply their bosses with coal.

A general strike in the coal industry for

two weeks would bring the whole nation to the feet of the miners. What we need is fewer strikes, but GENERAL strikes when we have them.

Comrade Germer, why are you so silent about the general coal strike? Is it not true that the U. M. W. Association officials, have signed agreements with the coal operators promising to FINE every union miner who is "guilty of throwing a mine idle or materially reducing the output by failure to continue at work.

\$10.00?"

Is it not true that they have gone so far in this agreement as to promise to pay the Illinois Coal Operators' Association ONE-HALF of such fines collected from the MINERS?

We would like very much to know WHY they have guaranteed to pay to the MINE OPERATORS, the VERY enemies of the miners, HALF of these FINES.

Do you not know that by tying the hands of the miners by agreements, they are forcing the men who remain at work to SCAB while their brothers are on strike?

The Agreement Brigade has left the West Virginia boys today with no fighting weapon but their rifles. They voted right last election, but that don't help NOW. The rank and file of the U. M. W. want a general strike in the coal fields. A general strike would mean a speedy victory for the men, and the everlasting enmity of the mine owners. No man can serve the mine owners and the working class at the same time.

A general strike and class solidarity is always more effective than the rifle.

This is the answer of the Industrial Socialists to the truce-proclaiming, agreement-signing, hand-tying White Flag Brigade. This is our message to our comrades in the strike field and in the coal mines.

It is the craft union officials and the pure-and-simple political actionists who force situations like the one in West Virginia.

They refuse to work for class UNIONISM on the industrial field. They divide us into crafts or tie us up in little scattered groups with agreements, so that we can never fight TOGETHER, but al-

ways in small bands that the capitalists find it easy to beat.

Paste this motto in your hat:

DOWN with agreements between employers and the workers! They can mean nothing but the ultimate shedding of blood, nothing but scabbery and defeat to the working class. Beware of the official or "friend" who signs an agreement with your employer. He is a traitor to the very class he pretends to serve!

* * * * *

Through all the turmoil of the strike, Comrade Robert Hunter, serenely oblivious to the class struggle raging around us, continues to employ oceans of ink in opposing the General Strike.

Whenever he is brought to mind, we recall the general who lagged so far behind the army that, in all his majesty, he walked alone. Day by day the army made its slow way forward. But because his face was turned backward, he imagined, ever, that he was in the lead!

M. E. M.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Belgium—The General Strike.—The fourteenth of April is the day set. It promises to become a historic date in the history of the labor movement. On that day will begin a notable trial of the carefully prepared, publicly advertised general strike for a political purpose. The preliminary arrangements are being made as complete as the present organization of labor will permit. If this great effort fails, its failure will be taken by many to mean the impracticability of this kind of a strike at the present stage of industrial development and labor organization. If it succeeds, it will certainly be tried in other countries, and its importance for the history of the labor movement can hardly be overestimated.

Last June, it will be remembered, the congress of the Belgian Labor (Socialist) Party passed a resolution in favor of calling a general strike to force the clerical government to grant manhood suffrage. A conference of labor and Socialist organizations was called and a large committee was named to take charge of the necessary work of organization. The committee was directed to give the government every opportunity to grant suffrage reform, but to begin immediately to take all the measures necessary to the success of the strike. Under the direction of this committee the organized workers of Belgium have for many months been filling their treasuries and enrolling as many new members as possible. Individual members of the various allied organizations have been repeatedly exhorted to

refrain from the use of alcoholic liquors and in other ways cut down their expenses and increase the amount of their savings for the approaching day of need.

The government has proved absolutely unbending in its policy. The Socialist group in parliament has stood for universal, equal manhood suffrage, beginning with the twenty-first year. They were, however, willing to compromise. In the rather bitter debate which followed the call for the strike they admitted that they would not have given the word had the government agreed to the Liberal proposal to appoint a commission to report on the matter of suffrage reform. But even this slight concession the government was unwilling to grant. The Prime Minister proclaimed that there could not be the slightest show of retreat before the threat of the strike. So when he accused the Socialist deputies of throwing the country into disorder they could respond that the serious state of affairs had been brought about by his own obstinacy.

On February 12 the strike committee, with more than 300 members present, issued the call. "On one and the same day," it reads in part, "in all industries and in all districts the general strike shall begin, and in conformity to the will of the working class it shall be peaceful, impressive and unconquerable."

On the one hand, the government maintains that the uprising of the workers cannot be successful. Only about 25 per cent of the workers are organized, too few to cripple the industries of the na-

tion, says the Prime Minister. Moreover, he says, it will be impossible to maintain peace, and the government will be forced to take measures to suppress the strike. Anticipating such developments, the mayor of Brussels has called a conference of mayors to discuss precautionary police measures. On the other hand, the workers are proceeding with complete confidence to make their preparations. The workers are especially warned on all possible occasions to maintain peace at any cost, to resist steadily the government's provocation to acts of violence. The conduct of the strike, in addition to tying up industry, is to show that it is ridiculous to deny the ballot to the working class.

Many Socialists maintain that the general strike is nothing more than a utopian dream; European Syndicalists and American industrial unionists maintain that any strike, to be successful, must be unannounced and therefore unprepared for. Unless a new turn is given to affairs in Belgium before April 14, these and others may see something which will interest them.

Germany and France. The New Militarism. An incidental result of the Balkan war will add to the burden borne by the workers of France and Germany. In the strong alliance of Balkan states, largely Slavic, the German government pretends to scent a grave danger. A new nation in the near east will sadly upset the long-nursed balance of powers. Bulgars and Servians have conceived a feeling of bitter hatred toward Austria. Austria is the ally of Germany. With Bulgaria, Servia and the other allies practically one nation, Germany may have a new enemy to watch.

Whether there is any excuse for this fear or not, it has already been acted upon. Germany has added 140,000 men to her "peace effective." France, not to be outdone in patriotism, has reverted to the three-year term of military service, from the two-year term, and has increased her appropriation for army and navy by \$100,000,000. Cablegrams from both countries describe the peasants and working people as filled with loyal enthusiasm for these measures. In fact, it is said that the people of France are so fired by noble rage that they can hardly wait the day when they can spring at the Ger-

mans. Of course, most of this patriotism is manufactured for American consumption, but the fact that the burden of militarism has been increased and that such a mass of nonsense is set out through the public press constitutes one of the most terrible results of the Balkan war.

France. The Catholic Unions Once More. In the March number of the *REVIEW* the present writer gave some account of the Catholic unions in Germany. This month similar organizations in France are breaking into the limelight. *La Vie Ouvriere* publishes a twenty-page list of Catholic unions made up of French railway workers. These organizations cover practically the whole of France and all lines of the service. The total membership is variously estimated between 20,000 and 50,000 members. Each group has a priest as its director. *La Vie Ouvriere* publishes, along with the address of the headquarters of each group, the name of its ecclesiastical guide.

The activity of these French Catholic unions seems to be similar to that of their German counterparts. In fact, they appear to be more definitely allied to the interests of the employers. The first ones were organized immediately after the strike of 1898, and the number of them was greatly increased as result of the partially unsuccessful strike of 1910. Numerous cases are reported in which railway officials sent to the directing priests for new employes. In other cases, it has been shown that members of the Catholic unions have been granted privileges which would never be given to adherents of the organizations affiliated with the *Confederation General du Travail*.

Austria. The Murder of Franz Schuhmeier. Every now and then some monarch or prime minister is killed or wounded. No matter who does it, or what was his motive, the deed is laid up against the anarchists. On February 12 the best loved, and one of the best known, men in Austria was shot and killed. He was neither a monarch nor a prime minister, but he had long been a member of the Austrian parliament. He was a member of the working class who throughout a brilliant career had been true to his class. And the murderer was not an anarchist. He was a Christian and a member of the Christian Social party. In fact, he was

the brother of a prominent leader of that party. It is interesting to notice the fact that the anarchists hunting capitalist journals had almost nothing to say about this cruel murder.

Franz Schuhmeier left school after completing the sixth grade and entered a factory in order to help support his family. In spite of the hardships of his life he managed to educate himself so that when the call came he was prepared to take a prominent place in the labor movement. Though he was only forty-nine years old at the time of his taking off, he had been for twenty-one years editor of the *Volkstribune*, the most widely read labor paper in Austria. In addition he had served many years as Socialist member of parliament and as member of the municipal council of Vienna. Distinguished both as orator and organizer, he took from the beginning a leading part in both bodies. In parliament he was the leader of the anti-military forces. In the municipal council he did more than anyone else to uncover the unspeakable grafting of the Christian Social party. While his lovable human qualities made him one of the great popular leaders of the working class, the uncompromising courage with which he fought the enemies of his class made him the target of bitter attacks.

So in this case the Christian "Socialists" resorted to direct action of the most unorganized and individualistic sort. It is probable that they will not find this kind of tactics very effective.

The Balkan War. Last month the *REVIEW* described the sad state into which the labor unions of Bulgaria have been plunged by the present war. Since then the news-letter of the International Secretariat has sent out similar accounts from Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In both these countries the labor movement has been virtually destroyed. Working class meetings are forbidden, labor papers have been suppressed, the hours of labor have been increased, while wages have been cut down. Practically all social legislation has been nullified. Regulations as to insurance, hygiene, etc., have been forgotten. In fact, it is difficult to tell who has the harder time of it, the workers at home or on the field of battle.

Various European labor organizations have already voted sums of money for the assistance of the Balkan comrades. In this country there is now a motion before the National Committee of the Socialist Party to donate \$100 for the same purpose. It is to be hoped that local Socialist organizations and labor unions will follow the lead set by our National Committee. This is a case in which money means life to organizations which have a very important part to play in a great national and international situation.

Italy. The New Reformist-Socialist Party. In the *REVIEW* for September, 1912, was given an account of the formation of this new party. At the regular convention of the Italian Socialist Party, held at Regio Emilia in July, four members of parliament had been expelled for failing to oppose the government in its war measures. Immediately these and many of their followers withdrew and took the steps necessary to the starting of a new organization to be known as the Reformist Socialist Party. In December, 1912, this party held its first convention, and therefore we have now an opportunity to size up its program and tactics.

Following is a condensation of the platform adopted:

The Reformist Socialist Party believes in the justification of the struggle of the workers on the industrial field, in the use of political methods as the best means of establishing working class control of society, and in the progressive participation of the working class in governmental activities. The following are laid down as the principles of the Reformist Socialist political program: (1) Reforms are achieved in accordance with the changing relations of the various classes which struggle for the mastery of society; (2) the party joins the international movement of the proletariat, but reserves the right to take account of national conditions in carrying on its work; (3) the party is not necessarily opposed to the various democratic (or liberal) parties. Its relation to them is a matter dependent on mutual understanding and agreement. (4) The party represents the interests of small capitalists as well as of wage earners; (5) all problems are to be considered from three points of view, i. e., their own nature, their relation to the

good of the working class, their relation to the purposes of the party.

In its resolution on labor unions, the congress approved of large federations, complete independence from political domination, and limitation of unions to such immediate matters as better wages, shorter hours, etc. Incidentally, the general strike and syndicalism came in for strong disapproval.

A long list of subjects was drawn up to serve as a guide in the making of immediate demands upon legislative bodies. Much time was given to the matter of colonial policy. All the delegates seemed to think that since colonial expansion is a part of capitalist development, it is not sufficient for Socialists merely to oppose it. Socialists ought, according to the Reformist notion, to develop a form of colonial control which would be for the benefit of the working class. This part of the program, however, was left unfinished, being merely referred to the next international congress for action.

The regular Socialist party has decided, contrary to its former practice, to put up candidates in all districts for the approaching parliamentary election. The Reformists, on the contrary, will frankly

open negotiations with any party which is willing to trade with them.

This outline of the principles and tactics of the new Italian party is here set down at such length because this seems to the writer to be the most logical result of reformist theory which has been yet attained. The leaders of this party believe that the class struggle gradually dies out as the working class gains in power; therefore, there is no treason to the working class involved in combining with non-Socialist parties. They believe, moreover, that the government of any given period does, and should, represent exactly all the elements struggling for the supremacy; in order to bring this about, all the elements must take active part in the government at all times; therefore, the Socialists should take whatever offices they can get, participate in whatever happens to be going on, and try to give a proletarian twist even to the most outrageously capitalistic undertaking.

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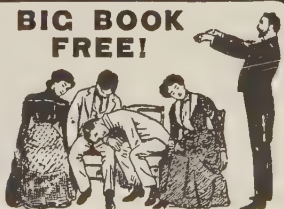
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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

A New Marx Volume. One of the best short histories ever written is **The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte**, by Karl Marx. It is a history of France for three eventful years, during which a so-called republic was destroyed and Louis Bonaparte, a politician much like Theodore Roosevelt, made himself emperor. The economic forces at work behind the warring politicians are admirably explained by Marx. It is a companion volume to his "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," which deals with the political changes in Germany at almost the same period. "The Eighteenth Brumaire" was translated into English by Daniel De Leon many years ago, and passed through two editions in pamphlet form. We have now made new electrotype plates of the book, so that it has 160 pages of large type, instead of 80 pages of small type, as formerly, and have published it in cloth at 50c and paper at 25c.

Is Your Set of Marx Complete? The books by Marx which have been translated into English and published in cloth binding are as follows:

Capital, three volumes, \$6.00.
Critique of Political Economy, \$1.00.
The Poverty of Philosophy, \$1.00.
Value, Price and Profit, 50c.
Revolution and Counter-Revolution, 50c.
The Eighteenth Brumaire, 50c.
The Communist Manifesto (Marx and Engels), 50c.

Any of these will be mailed promptly on receipt of price. Ask us for complete catalogue and for our illustrated booklet, "The Story of a Socialist Publishing House."

New Propaganda Books. The season for open air meetings is at hand. Every Socialist soap-boxer should sell books after his talk. Experience shows that the books circulated in this way accomplish much more than the words spoken at the meeting. Moreover, the profit which the local or the speaker makes on the books is a big help toward the speaker's necessary expenses. Besides, the standard books, which are always good, we have these four new ones:

Evolution and Revolution, by Mark Fisher, a Socialist study of history, showing the inevitability of Socialism and the necessity for revolutionary unionism.

The New Socialism, by Robert Rives LaMonte, a propaganda work calling on those who believe in revolutionary unionism to work inside the Socialist Party.

Marxism and Darwinism, by Anton Pannekoek, a concise, logical argument by one of the ablest Socialist writers of Europe, showing that Socialism is in line with the modern theory of evolution.

Crime and Criminals, Clarence S. Darrow's great speech before the prisoners in the county jail at Chicago. This classic address has long been out of print; it is now reissued in more attractive style than ever before. These all sell for ten cents each.

Other Ten Cent Books.

How Capitalism has Hypnotized Society, by William Thurston Brown.

Our Mental Enslavement, by Howard H. Caldwell.

Socialism Made Easy, by James Connolly.

Unionism and Socialism, by Eugene V. Debs.

The Detective Business, by Robin Dunbar.

The Question Box, by Frank M. Eastwood.

The Social Evil, by Dr. J. H. Greer.

Industrial Socialism, by Haywood and Bohn.

The Right to Be Lazy, by Paul Lafargue.

No Compromise, by Wilhelm Liebknecht.

Socialism, What It Is, by Wilhelm Liebknecht.

The Strength of the Strong, by Jack London.

Shop Talks on Economics, by Mary E. Marcy.

Value, Price and Profit, by Karl Marx.

The Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels.

Socialist Songs with Music, by William Morris and others.

Nature Talks on Economics, by Caroline Nelson.

Class Struggles in America, by A. M. Simons.

The Socialists, by John Spargo.

One Big Union, by William E. Trautmann.

The Socialist Movement, by Charles H. Vail.

The Wolves, by Robert A. Wason.

We will mail any one of these books for 10 cents, any three for 25 cents, or any twelve for \$1.00. For \$2.60 we will send the full set of 26 books and the REVIEW one year. To Socialist Locals or traveling speakers we will send 100 assorted 10-cent books by express, prepaid, on receipt of \$5.00, or 1,000 on receipt of \$40.00.

Jesuitism Within Our Own Party. As we go to press with this issue of the REVIEW we are still waiting in vain for the

appearance of the following letter sent on Feb. 22 to the editor of the *Social Democratic Herald*, Milwaukee:

My attention has been called to an unsigned article, for which you are doubtless responsible in the *Herald* of February 8, in which, referring to an alleged misquotation from Engels, you say:

"However, that little 'first of all' being inconvenient, we find it omitted in the Kerr edition of 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.' A nice illustration of Jesuitism within our own party."

This, if true, would be a most serious charge against the Socialist publishing house of which I am manager. It would mean that for the sake of scoring a point in a controversy over Socialist tactics, we had deliberately falsified a passage in one of the classics of Socialism. If I understand the English language correctly, this is exactly what you meant to have your readers think we had done.

Now for the facts. Our edition of "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" is a word-for-word reprint of the translation by Edward Aveling, Marx's son-in-law, which was published in London during Engels' lifetime, and while he himself was there. He wrote an introduction to the edition, and as he was well acquainted with the English language, it may safely be inferred that he saw the proofs. At any rate, the book passed through several editions in London, and if the translation had misrepresented his meaning, he would certainly have protested.

The sentence in question is on page 127 of our edition, and on page 75 of the London edition, published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co., which may be seen at many public libraries in this country.

I think any impartial reader will agree that the "nice illustration of Jesuitism within our own party" has been afforded by the *Herald*, not by our publishing house.

Please give this reply the same publicity as your charge against us.

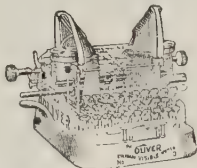
CHARLES H. KERR.

As the reply has not been published, and as the editor of the *Herald* has neither attempted to substantiate his charge nor apologized for it, the inference seems pretty clear. It may or may not be remembered that when the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party called for the election of a committee to "investigate" this publishing house, the *Social Democratic Herald* gave great prominence to the fact. When the National Committee ratified the proposal, the *Herald* gave further publicity. But when the investigating committee made a detailed report, showing that the charges were absurd, those readers who were so imprudent as to depend on the *Herald* for information were unable to learn anything more about the matter.

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NEWS AND VIEWS



YOUNG NEW ZEALAND SOCIALISTS.

The Socialist Movement in New Zealand.—The Revolutionary Socialists are becoming a force in the little country in the southern hemisphere. The much vaunted progressive legislature of New Zealand is just about fizzling out. Trade unions are kicking over the Arbitration Act, and a reactionary government having got the reins of power they are taking advantage of a flaw in the Arbitration Act which allows fifteen scab workers to form and register a fresh trade union, where the original union has canceled its registration, and by making an agreement with the employers force hundreds or thousands back to conditions they were fighting against, so that we have reached the stage of scab unions. This condition of affairs has helped to open the ears of the workers to the propaganda of the Socialists, and the movement grows rapidly. One of the most vigorous branches of the New Zealand Socialist Party is located in Christchurch in the province of Canterbury. The accompanying photo was taken last Christmas day and shows a company of young Socialists who were to perform that evening on the occasion of Christmas festivities. Christmas in this part of the world

comes at midsummer and the comrade who took the part of Santa Claus declared he had never perspired so much before. Yours in the fight, Christchurch Comrade, New Zealand.

Socialist Hall, Oxford Terrace, Christchurch, New Zealand.—Dear Comrades: Please find enclosed a money order for three pounds for which kindly send us another bundle of REVIEWS (twelve) for one year and make up the remainder of the money with Mary Marcy's "Shop Talks," London's "Revolution," five cents, and Bellamy's "Parable of the Water Tank." Am glad to tell you that the REVIEW is very much appreciated here and always looked forward to. Yours for the Revolution, D. Whyte, Lit. Sec.

Another Red Hustler.—Comrade Scott of Pennsylvania, sends us \$3 for a copy of Bebel's "Woman and Socialism," to be mailed to two of our women comrades, and has three yearly subscription cards for the REVIEW sent to himself. At the end of his letter he adds: "Although a shareholder, I've been opposed to the REVIEW's policy heretofore. Am as red as hell now and I'll boost the REVIEW all I can."

Haywood Demands Investigation.—Chas. H. Moyer, President Western Federation of Miners, Denver, Colo.

Sir: In the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners, issue of February 6th, there appears a statement under the caption "A Near View of Bill Haywood," the same purporting to be from Adolph Germer. It could only have been written with your connivance and approval. You know that what he sets forth as facts regarding collections made by me in behalf of Steve Adams are contemptible and malicious lies.

You have in the office of the Western Federation of Miners my report of all collections made and the expense account incident to the same. You know that it was not I who failed of an accounting and you further know that up to this time, though nearly five years have passed, the W. F. of M. has failed to make an adjustment.

In view of my standing with the working class I am entitled to a hearing and a vindication: it is not for you, the jealous enemy, to condemn me ex-parte.

The Socialist Party and organized labor generally are entitled to know the truth in connection with these charges, and to this end I demand that a representative committee be authorized to make a complete investigation and report of my stewardship of the finance of the Western Federation of Miners, this investigation to cover the entire period of my official connection with the W. F. of M.

You are to name two of a committee of five, I will name two, who will be in all ways satisfactory to the Socialist and the labor movement, the four members thus appointed to select the fifth member of said committee.

This committee to have free access to all documents, papers, books, minutes and files of the organization.

You must agree to this investigation or stand branded of guilt worse than that of which you would convict me.

WM. D. HAYWOOD.

Vancouver, B. C., February 22, 1913.

Would Have Changed His Vote.—I am sorry the information in the February issue of the I. S. R. regarding comrade Haywood was not printed sooner. I believe it would have changed my vote. There should be a system devised so that each branch would receive at least one copy of both sides of the question to be voted upon so that the comrades could vote intelligently. I voted against our comrade ignorantly and I am now truly sorry for doing so. I will have to see both sides of a question before I vote again on such a question. How can others expect justice from us, if we do not give justice to our own comrades. Yours for justice, A. McKechnie.

From Galva, Ill.—I have been reading the REVIEW for over a year now and have found it to be the best Socialist paper of its kind. I could not get along without it. Your Comrade.

Six Old Soldiers.—In a certain National Military Home passed around the hat and sent in six big round dollars for the striking rubber workers at Akron, after reading the short strike notice in last month's REVIEW. If the rest of the workers had as much backbone as these comrades it would not take long to clean up the Wall street gang.

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and
up



\$29.50 in Two Days

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So says J. A. McMillian, of Nettie, W. Va., who has one of our Champion Cameras. If you want to make more money than you've ever made before—quicker and easier—this is the business for you. No matter where you live or what your occupation, you can coin money right from the start.

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J. H. Arnold, Rock Lake, N.D., writes: "Received outfit O.K. Took it to a little town, set it up for 2 hours and took in \$12.35." "Made \$25 yesterday," writes Arthur Neely, Alvarado, Tex. "First day did \$30 in business," says B. Bashin, Bell Island, Newfoundland. "Made \$50 Christmas"—C. V. Lovett, Fort Meade, Fla. "Had an excellent business of \$29.90."—Vernard Baker, Holbrook, Neb.

Photo Post Cards All the Rage at Fairs, Picnics, Resorts, Schools, Factories, Depots, on Streets—anywhere, everywhere. Camera takes pictures size 2½x3½, 1½x2½ and one-inch buttons. Photograph persons singly or in groups, houses, animals, autos, beautiful scenes, etc. Make them on the spot, in broad daylight. No gallery, no rent, no profits to divide with others. The

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To the Members of the Socialist Party.—Whereas: The weekly and monthly National Bulletins are the official organs of the Socialist Party, are supported by the members of the party and are not the property of any individual or set of individuals, and

Whereas: The National Secretary and the National Executive Committee are elected by the membership, one of their functions being to cause to be published in aforesaid bulletins the official data of the party and events of interest to the membership, and

Whereas: The bulletins, aforesaid, recently contained full page advertisements in the interests of one Morris Hilquit and his book alleged to represent "Socialism Summed Up," said advertisements being published at an expense of thousands of dollars to the party at a time when necessary and urgent work of the national office is already impeded by financial embarrassment and hundreds of thousands of the proletariat are making desperate appeals for assistance in their daily struggles with the beast of capitalism, and

Whereas: The copyright on said book—notwithstanding the statement in the advertisement that the national office is the beneficiary—is shown to be held by the Metropolitan Magazine Publishing Company, whose engagement at the present time of Morris Hilquit as staff-writer and J. Mahlon Barnes as circulation manager, makes the prostitution of the national office (with its mailing list of 5,200 names serving the circulation department of said magazine) all the more obvious, shameless and infamous, and

Whereas: The advertisement, above-mentioned, has been made to supersede the regular and important data of the party with obviously no worthier purpose than to foist upon the minds of the unsophisticated recruits to our membership a vote-hungry, power-thirsty politician's individual conception of the proper tactical procedure for the organized revolutionary movement, in order that the grip of a political clique (now for the first time seriously threatened) may be maintained upon the party machine and the organization made a vehicle for carrying ambitious usurpers to legislative lime-light and advertising a few exaggerated egos; therefore, be it

Resolved: That Local Elyria, Socialist Party of Ohio protest against this flagrant prostitution of the official organs of the party to boom business for a capitalistic publishing concern, to subserve the private interests and satisfy the personal ambition of a petty intriguer and apostle of Machiavelianism, as also against the high-handed policy of the National Secretary and the National Executive Committee in their efforts to keep peace with his accomplices; be it further

Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of Local Elyria and a copy be sent to at least one Socialist paper in each state.

Adopted by Local Elyria in regular session assembled, February 2, 1913.

CLARA M. KING, Secretary.

From Piedra, Calif.—Dear Comrades: Attached please find money order for \$12, for which send the REVIEW to the twelve names listed below and send me as my premium the books listed, amounting to \$12. Yours for the Revolution, A. V. Waugh, Piedra, via Reedley, Calif.

RUPTURE CURED

by **STUART'S PLAPAO-PADS** means that you can throw away the painful truss altogether, as the Plapao-Pads are made to cure rupture and not simply to hold it; but being self-adhesive, and when adhering closely to the body slipping is impossible, therefore, they are also an important factor in retaining rupture that cannot be held by a truss. **NO STRAPS, BUCKLES OR SPRINGS.** Soft as Velvet—Easy to Apply. Inexpensive. No delay from work. Awarded Gold Medal. We prove what we say by sending **FREE.** Write trial of Plapao absolutely **FREE.** Today. Plapao Laboratories, Block 618 St. Louis, Mo.

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The only journal in America that scientifically treats the all-important question of the form of organization of proletarian bodies both economic and political. Do you want to know about the A. F. of L.; the K. of L.; the A. L. U.; the A. R. U.; the original W. F. of M.; the I. W. W.; the Syndicalist; the S. L. P.; the S. P., then you must read the Decentralizer. The Decentralizer is not a muck-raking sheet or a personal organ, but it fearlessly exposes the frauds or errors of those in responsible positions in the labor movement. It shows the advantages of a less complex and autocratic form of organization than that at present in operation in the labor movement.

Subscription price, 25 cents per year; five subs for \$1.00.

E. R. MEITZEN, Managing Editor, Hallettsville, Texas.

The Rebel:

NOTE.—The Decentralizer is published in the same office as The Rebel, the Red Southern Socialist weekly of which T. A. Hickey is managing editor. The Rebel has made the land issue the dominant issue in the South. It circulates 25,000 copies weekly. You must read the Rebel to know about the land question and the renters' union. The Rebel will be strictly propaganda hereafter, but revolutionary to the core. Fifty cents a year; clubs of four, \$1.00; four-year subs, \$1.00. Hallettsville, Texas.

Flint, Mich., Again.—Flint, Mich., comes back with another order for 100 copies of the REVIEW a month for one year. Flint is doing great work. The comrades there are sticking to education work whenever it is possible in order to make real and lasting socialists.

From Another Hustler.—THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is in the lead for revolutionary socialism and for a clear-cut working class movement, and I wish it much success and will be found at all times boosting for it as every copy placed will do more for clearing up the Socialist party than anything else I know of. Yours in the Class Struggle, Comrade Carpenter, Wichita, Kan.

Industrialism in Australia.—Comrade Lane of Brisbane writes us that four big sections of industry in Australia have all come under the banner of Industrial Unionism. The Waterside workers are now in one body. The A. W. A. has amalgamated with the A. workers' union—the largest in Australia. Rural workers' union, carriers, timber workers, stonemen and packers, likewise. So you see the spirit of One Big Union is abroad. A law was passed there to smash the unions making it a penal offense to strike and we do not have the general ballot. However, they cannot enforce the strike law. A big strike of the A. W. A. has been in progress a month and none of the strikers have been arrested. Perhaps you would call these men criminals since they are breaking the law, but they have no other way of fight and the fighting spirit here is not yet dead. The REVIEW is indeed appreciated here.

Haywood in Portland.—Comrade Tom Burns, who sent us a report of the wonderful work done by Local Portland the past year, also sent a report of the Haywood meeting in Portland. He said "Big Bill Haywood was here and not for many moons will those who heard him forget his masterly portrayal of the Class Struggle. Haywood is the untamed lion of the American labor movement. He has lived the Class Struggle. He looks it; breathes it. He delivered the ablest, cleanest and most terrific indictment of capitalism ever heard in Portland." Comrade Burns said that "After visiting Archbishop Christie the Protestant Governor West of Oregon decided to establish the Oregon Naval Militia," an aggregation of strike breakers and scab herders. This looks as though the Catholic church was preparing to kill off the trade unions in America.

Industrialism in Massachusetts.—The fact that Roland D. Sawyer and George E. Roewer, Esq., both active in the Ettor, Giovannitti case, were chosen members of the National Committee from Massachusetts, each by votes more than double their nearest competitor, is evidence that the Massachusetts comrades are not so scared of industrialism as some of the states where it is less known.

Militants Awake.—Massachusetts militant socialists and unionists are holding a series of meetings to protest against the treatment of Ben Legere and the other Little Falls prisoners. Roland D. Sawyer, of Ware, is using the stereopticon and Little Falls pictures to explain the situation. Proceeds of the Sawyer meetings go to the Defense Fund. Locals that have not arranged for a Sawyer Little Falls protest meeting should write Sawyer at once addressed, Ware, Mass.



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Not one cent to pay either now or later—no obligations of any kind or nature. Just your simple request will bring you this valuable and interesting course of 62 lessons by return mail *without cost*.

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The Pittsburgh Reds.—Branch No. 1, with ten members present, raised \$10 in about sixty seconds for the Akron strikers and Local Allegheny County Central Committee voted to donate the entire collections of their next three Sunday afternoon lectures, same to be divided between the miners in West Virginia and the rubber workers in Akron. It takes direct action to fill the dinner pail.

An Appreciation.—On the day that the REVIEW comes I become neglectful of business in my desire to read it. It has a true revolutionary ring and I certainly would not want to be without it. Geo. Schrimmer.

From Utica, Ohio.—Enclosed find \$2.50, for which please send me March REVIEWS. I have had such good luck selling twenty that I think that I can get away with fifty this month. I am yours for the REVIEW, J. G. Montross.

Hegins, Pa.—I am a reader of your valuable magazine for a good while. I can hardly wait till Comrade Maurer gets them and delivers them in town here. Elmer Miller.

Comrade Bell of Belknap, Iowa, writes: "I would like to see the REVIEW double its circulation. I will do all I can. I wish every farmer

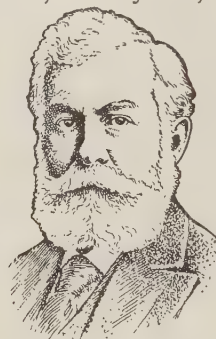
who reads the REVIEW would plant one acre of corn, the proceeds to go to sending the REVIEW to his neighbors. I am going to be one of your 'Farmers' Army for the REVIEW.'"

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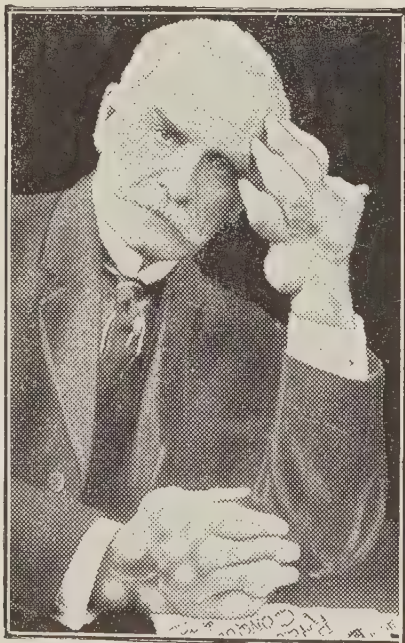
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Fall In Line!

This call is to every reader of the International Socialist Review, to every socialist, wife, son or daughter of a socialist, or any member of a socialist's household. Fall in line with the thousands of comrades who have used it, and try it without a penny's cost. Our plan of offering Bodi-Tone on trial to every sick and ailing person is a plan that should particularly appeal to every socialist, for it is a plan of justice, fairness and equity. We want no money until we have earned it. We do not fatten our bellies with the pennies of the poor and leave them sick and suffering as before, for we get no pay until Bodi-Tone has benefited, until the user is sure and certain from an actual trial for twenty-five days that Bodi-Tone is fitted to the needs of his or her body. Thousands of socialists have gotten Bodi-Tone in this way, without paying a penny, and found it put new flesh on their bones, new vigor in their minds to fight the great battle, new vim in their muscles and new vitality into vital functions, and we want YOU to try it, to see what it will do for you.

All you need do is tell us you want to try it, and a dollar box will be handed out to you.

It makes no difference who, where or what you are, Bodi-Tone takes all the risks, and asks no pay if it does not benefit. You don't need to write a long letter, don't need to fill out any long blanks, don't need to send any money or stamps. Send the coupon, with your name and address, and we will send a box to you, does just what its name means—*cures disease by toning all the body*. Bodi-Tone is a small, round, compressed

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tablet that is taken three times every day. Each box contains seventy-five tablets, enough for twenty-five days' use, and we send you the full box without a penny in advance, so you can try it and learn what it is, so you can learn how it *cures stubborn diseases* by helping nature to tone every organ and part of the body. Bodi-Tone is not a patent medicine, for its ingredients are not a secret. It contains Iron Phosphate, Gentian, Lithia, Chinese Rhubarb, Peruvian Bark, Nux Vomica, Oregon Grape Root, Cascara, Capsicum, Sarsaparilla and Golden Seal. Such ingredients guarantee its merit and explain why it cures. Bodi-Tone contains no narcotics or habit-forming drugs, nothing your family doctor won't say is a good thing. It does not excite the body with alcohol, but it tones the body and cures its disorders with the remedies nature intended to tone and cure the body. Thus, Iron gives life and energy to the Blood, Sarsaparilla drives out its impurities, Phosphate and Nux Vomica create new nerve energy and force, Lithia aids in the Kidneys, Gentian does invaluable work for the Stomach and Digestive forces, Chinese Rhubarb and Oregon Grape Root promote vigorous Liver activity, Peruvian Bark raises the tone of the entire System, Golden Seal soothes the inflamed membrane and checks Catarrhal discharges, Cascara gives the Bowels new life in a natural way, and Capsicum makes all more valuable by bettering their quick absorption into the blood. A remarkable combination that does wonderful work for health.

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If you are tired of continual dosing without results, you need Bodi-Tone right now. If your local doctor has done you no good, if the ordinary medicinal combinations he used have failed, give this modern scientific combination of special remedies a chance to show and prove what it can do for you. Its greatest triumphs have been among men and women with chronic ailments who had tried good physicians without lasting benefit, and for this reason all chronic sufferers are invited to try it at our risk. If there is anything wrong with your Kidneys, Bodi-Tone helps to restore tone to the Kidneys, helps to set them right. If there is anything wrong with your Stomach, Bodi-Tone helps to tone the Stomach, helps to set the wrong right. If there is anything wrong with your Nerves, your Blood, your Liver, your Bowels or your General System, the health-making ingredients in Bodi-Tone go right to work and keep on working day after day, producing results of the kind sufferers appreciate. If you have Rheumatism, Bodi-Tone helps to drive the Uric Acid from the system while it restores tone to the Kidneys, Stomach and Blood, thereby stopping Rheumatic poison and putting new activity into muscles, nerves and joints. Bodi-Tone should be used by all women suffering from Female Ailments, for its toning properties have been found especially valuable in such ailments.

Rheumatism From Neck To Ankles, With a Bad Cough

LANTANA, TENN.—I had Rheumatism for twenty-five years from my Neck to my Ankles, Catarrh of the Head for about twenty years and a very bad Stomach for about five years. I took medicine from the doctor all last Summer. I had a terrible swimming in my head for years, and last Winter I took a terrible cough and spit up quantities of mucous, which the doctors said was Bronchial Asthma. They doctored me all winter with but little benefit. I saw Bodi-Tone advertised, sent for a trial box, and I got my cure from this medicine. I am stouter this Winter than I have been in thirty years and seem to be entirely cured of all my troubles. I have gained thirty-two pounds since taking Bodi-Tone, and can walk ten miles in a day. I am sixty years old. I owe all my good health to Bodi-Tone and believe it saved my life. MRS. EMILY DRIVER.



Kidney, Bladder, Stomach and Heart Trouble

WAUSEON, OHIO.—Bodi-Tone has done wonders for me. Last Fall I was so run down that I could hardly get up and down. I doctored and received only temporary relief. I tried everything and had about made up my mind that there was no help. I could not eat and didn't seem to crave anything. Everyone thought I would not live through the winter, and I really thought so myself. My Kidneys and Bladder were so bad, and my Stomach also. I had such weak spells with my Heart that it was not safe for me to start out to walk, as I could only stand on my feet a little while. My head was Dizzy. I saw the Bodi-Tone offer and decided to try once more. I have not felt so well for years as I do since I used Bodi-Tone. I am in my seventy-second year and can do a days' work. Everyone is surprised to see me as I am now. They all can see what Bodi-Tone has done for me. A. SAMS.



Trial Coupon

Clipped from International Socialist Review
Bodi-Tone Company,
 Hoynes & North Aves, Chicago.

I have read your trial offer and want a dollar box of Bodi-Tone on trial. I promise to give it a fair trial and to pay \$1.00 for this box if I am benefited at the end of 25 days. If it does not help me I will not pay one penny and will owe you nothing.

Name _____

Town _____

State _____

St. or R. F. D. _____

Fremont, Colorado—THE REVIEW is the Socialist paper I have been looking for.—M. S. Mack.

Raymond, Wash.—We think the REVIEW is just fine; could not do without it. I am trying to get subs. for it.—Mrs. E. V. Spaulding.

From Massachusetts.—I consider the REVIEW as the best propaganda magazine for industrial unionism and real political Socialism.—Jos. M. Meirowitz.

From Texas.—I received your sample copy and find it the finest publication yet for Socialism. Thank you.—Mrs. Harry Britton.

Chicago, Ill.—To my mind it is the best magazine I have seen, presenting as it does the real Socialist, which must necessarily be revolutionary.—John Quinn.

From Wilsall, Mont.—I take several papers and magazines but find more educational value in the "Review" than any other magazine.—N. C. Metzger.

From Amalgamated Workers' Association of Queensland.—How we look forward to the REVIEW! It is one of the most inspiring magazines we have received. Good luck and heartfelt fraternal greetings.—Ernest H. Lane.

From Chicago.—Enclosed find one dollar for renewal to THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. I have been a subscriber to the REVIEW for almost nine years, and I cannot think of getting along without it. Hoping that it will continue its good work, I remain, yours for revolutionary Socialism.—D. F. Sager.

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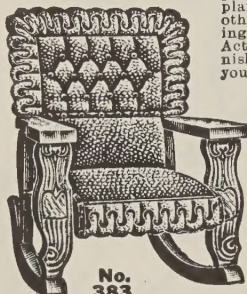
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